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4 November 1963

Briefly Noted

Sukarno Decree Curbs "Subversives"

A new decree was put into effect in Indonesia on 22 October providing for penalties ranging from 20 years in prison to death for any subversive activities against President Sukarno's government. The decree is one of the strongest ever issued by the Sukarno government and restores powers to the government that it had under martial law. The decree carries a possible death sentence for:

Distorting, deviating or undermining the ideology and policy of the State;

Overthrowing, damaging or undermining the authority of the government;

Creating unrest, chaos, and feelings of enmity among the Indonesian population or between the Indonesian government and friendly nations;

Expressing sympathy with an enemy of the Republic or a state which is not friendly toward Indonesia.

We call attention to the extreme harshness of this decree and particularly to the vagueness of its generalized terms which make it possible to punish anything except the most servile attitude toward Sukarno and his government. In those countries that will send teams to Ganefo, we warn the participants that they must under no circumstances discuss politics or even listen to others discuss politics unless they want to run the risk of execution or of spending years in Sukarno's jails.

Soviets Forego Race to Moon

In a statement of 26 October, Khrushchev said that the Soviet Union was not at present planning flights of cosmonauts to the moon, and he "wished the Americans success" in their efforts. While the Soviets have always avoided committing themselves to reaching the moon first, competition with the US has been accented throughout the history of the Soviet space program. Because the US did not need such large rockets for its more sophisticated bombs, and because American leaders did not at first regard themselves as competing with the Soviets in space activity, the Soviets had an easy time to begin with in "outdoing" the US in space. As Americans took up the challenge, the competition became more intense. Now Khrushchev is de-emphasizing this competition. It is likely

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that his space program, considered wildly extravagant by many Soviet citizens, is being cut back in favor of fertilizer and agricultural equipment programs; Khrushchev said explicitly that there would be no diversion of funds from defense for agriculture, so presumably funds and resources had to be diverted from other activities, apparently from space.

We should realize, however, that (as President Kennedy has pointed out) Khrushchev did not renounce space activity. It is still possible that the Soviets may achieve a rendezvous in space, or something similar, and if they do this, they will of course make propaganda with it. It is also possible that the renunciation may be a feint, designed to bring about a slow-down in the US space program. Such a slow-down might enable the Soviets to be first to the moon after all; they may not be able to compete with an aroused US, but (as in the case of their first successes) they can easily outdo a passive US.

In our assets, we should make continuing reference to Khrushchev's denial that the USSR is engaged in a race to the moon, using it to explode the "wave of the future" concept. At this point we do not emphasize the possibility of a change in the US program, or the possibility that Khrushchev may be trying to effect such a change, but we carefully avoid suggesting that the Soviet space program has been terminated. Similarly, if there should be a slow-down in the US program, we are careful not to say that it has been discontinued.

Chinese Question Soviet Wheat Purchase

The 13 October issue of Phnom Penh's Chinese Communist daily Shen Huo Wu Pao (Life Evening News) carries a front-page editorial under the headline: "Why Doesn't the Soviet Union Buy Wheat from China?" The editorial wonders why the Soviet Union should buy wheat from a capitalist country rather than from "friends" such as Communist China, and adds that the USSR would be better off in getting the grain from China because China "understands mercy and morality." Publicize this story as an example not only of Communist China's duplicity in offering the Soviet Union grain which she herself does not possess in sufficient quantities to feed her own people, but also as an example of the way that Communist countries are now busy playing the same dirty propaganda tricks on each other that they used to reserve for the capitalist countries.

DATES OF PROPAGANDA INTEREST

28 Nov WPC Council Meeting, Warsaw, 28 Nov-2 Dec.

30 Nov USSR attacks Finland, 1939.

December Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Co-operation, 4th AAOEC, scheduled for Karachi, 1963.

1 Dec Assassination of KIROV, CPSU leader in Leningrad, gives Stalin pretext to start great purge, 1934.

5 Dec USSR adopts new "Stalin" constitution providing for universal suffrage, freedom of speech, press and assembly, 1936.

21 Dec Stalin born (1879).

26 Dec Mao Tse-tung born (1893 - 70 years).

January International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament (WFDY-sponsored); scheduled for Florence, Italy, January 1964.

2 Jan Fidel Castro assumes power in Cuba, 1959.

15 Jan "Trial of the 12" first show trial of Stalinist purge, including Zinoviev and Kamenev (initial members Stalin ruling triumvirate during Lenin's physical decline), 1935.

21 Jan Lenin dies, 1924 (born 22 April 1870).

26 Jan Second Congress of Soviets meets: Stalin swears allegiance to Lenin's policies, 1924.

31 Jan Leon Trotsky banished for life, 1929.

31 Jan Cuban Marxist-Leninist Government excluded from participation inter-American system by Foreign Ministers American Republics at Punta del Este, 1962.

1 Feb UNGA adopts resolution charging Chinese Communist aggression in Korea, 1951.

2 Feb Estonian-Soviet Peace Treaty signed: Soviet Government "forever renounces sovereign rights over people and territory of Estonia," 1920.

14 Feb USSR and CPR sign treaty of alliance (Sino-Soviet Friendship Pact) repudiating Soviet Nationalist Treaty (14 August 1945), 1950.

PROPAGANDIST'S GUIDE TO COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

#15

12-25 October 1963

Commentary

Principle Developments:

1. The Chinese fired only one heavy round in the battle of polemics during this period, a 10,000-word article dated 21 October entitled: "Apologists of Neocolonialism," the fourth in the series of joint Red Flag-People's Daily editorials commenting on the 14 July CPSU open letter. (Three preceding articles were dated September 6, 13 and 26, respectively.) In a further effort to establish their right to leadership of the Afro-Asian-Latin American world, the Chinese lambasted Soviet positions on revolution and national liberation -- and Soviet "peddling the 'theory of racism,'" -- accusing the CPSU leaders of being "mortally afraid of conflict with the imperialists" and thus set on "opposing the national liberation movement." In direct affront, they repeatedly cited Stalin, who in 1925 had "fought the liquidationists represented by the Trotskyites and Zinovievites"; his "warning is of serious, practical significance for the present leaders of the CPSU."

2. Soviet media continued to pour forth a barrage of anti-Chinese materials (see Chronology, October 21, for a Chinese account of the scale and nature of the Soviet campaign), topped by another massive editorial in the CPSU theoretical journal Kommunist, October issue (see October 23), which accuses the Chinese of "an attempt to replace Leninism with 'Mao Tse-tungism,'" describes the Peking campaign as "an offensive against the very mainstays of Marxism-Leninism, unprecedented since the era of Trotskyism," and calls upon every Communist everywhere to "fulfill his international duty" by helping to stop the Chinese before it is too late. The editorial charges that the Chinese, having decided to split the ICM and create some new movement to serve their special aims, are "inspiring and supporting" anti-party groups in other countries and trying to "knock together an international bloc" out of "all sorts of unprincipled and corrupt elements," mostly expellees from CP's. Kommunist declares, however, that 65 Communist parties have already expressed, in official decisions, their full support of the CPSU, while condemning the Peking splitters.

3. Two other Soviet items are worthy of note. Izvestiya earlier (12 October) carried an article by an elderly CPSU member, who, with the authority of one who "had worked under Lenin's direct guidance for many years," branded the present Chinese course as a "Trotskyite attempt to revise Leninism" and called on all Communists to "fight against the Chinese splitters." (Revisionism has been applied to the Chinese in several recent Soviet-attuned statements.) And the Pravda Ukrainy article by Kozovoy on 16 October was distinguished from most Soviet output

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by its (Albanian-like) sarcastically vitriolic style and its sharp argumentation. Kozovoy cited a statistical survey demonstrating the predominately "non-Marxist-Leninist" (and heavily Stalinist) origins of "Mao Tse-tungism," and also expanded on the theme (now appearing frequently in Soviet articles, see also Red Star, October 19, and Kommunist, October 23) that China's erroneous policies and attitudes stem largely from the "petit bourgeois element" in the CCP.

4. Western correspondents and other observers in Moscow have increasingly assumed that representatives of most major parties (estimates say 25) will meet in Moscow for the 7 November anniversary of the Soviet Revolution to deal with the Chinese challenge, although the consensus seems to be that such a meeting will only prepare the ground for convening a conference of the entire WCM early in 1964.

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on any sort of an organization or action program, except for "informal majority agreement to support neither the Soviets nor the Chinese." Meanwhile, the Swedish CP daily Ny Dag carried a highly interesting article (October 15) expressing independent criticism of certain characteristic features of Communism as practiced in Communist states.

6. In a surprise development the Central Committee of the Italian CP issued a 12,000-word statement which, while criticizing a series of Chinese positions as distorted and utterly wrong, expressed strong reservations against holding a conference of world Communist parties at this time, since the necessary conditions should be created and complex preparatory work carried out first.

Significance:

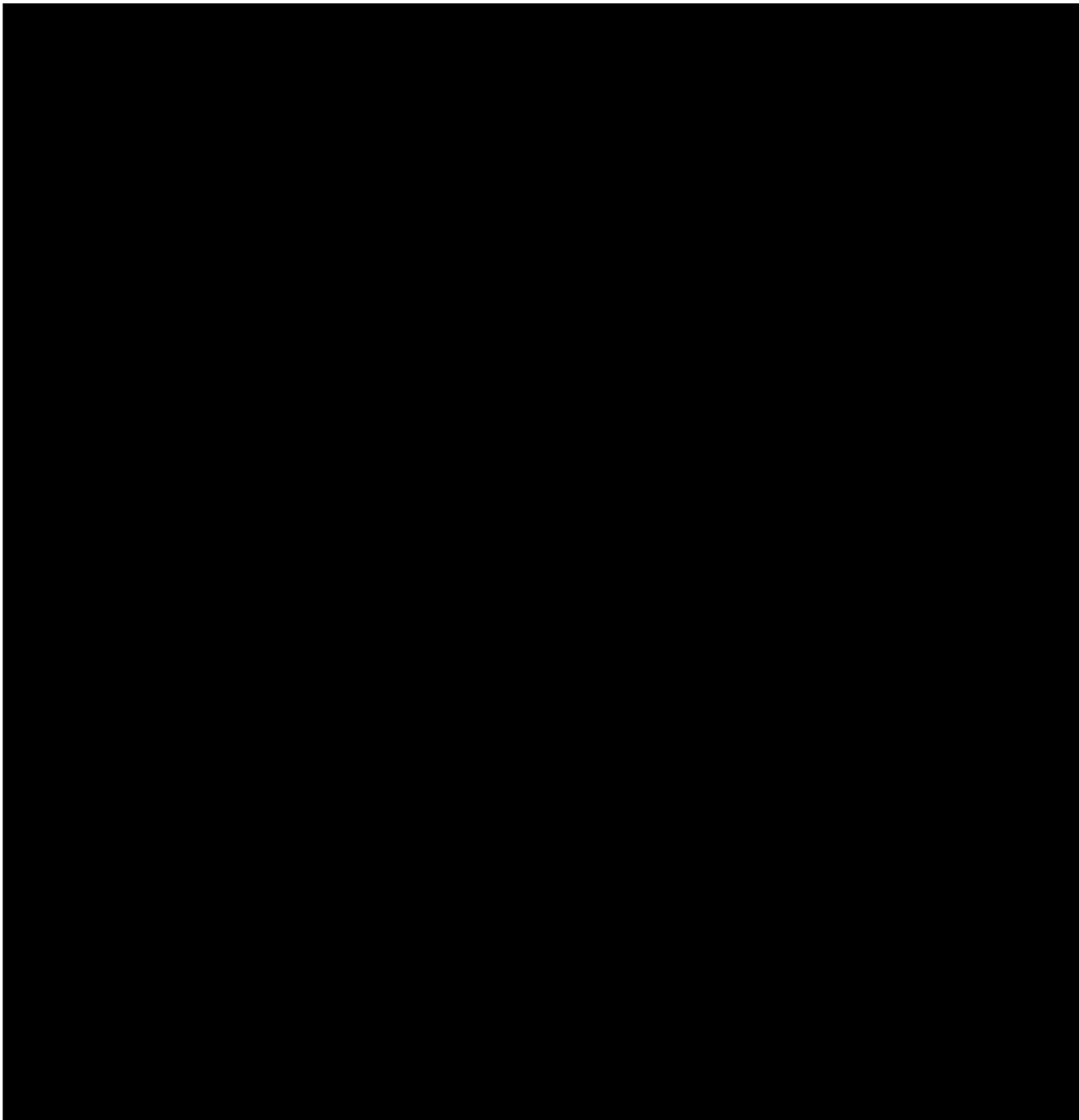
At the time of our last issue, there was evidence that the Soviet leadership had decided to push ahead with preparations for a conference of the World Communist Movement which might have been intended to maneuver the Chinese into a position of excommunicating themselves. Until the last day of the period, further evidence tended to confirm such an assumption, with the important October Kommunist article providing additional grounds for such action and claiming that 65 parties are already marching in formation with the CPSU.

Although there has been conflicting reporting regarding specific Soviet plans, it seemed likely that they intended to take advantage of the customary attendance of representatives of most major parties at the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution in Moscow to get pro forma approval of plans for convening a conference of all parties a few months hence and for a "draft declaration" which would fulfill Soviet needs.

However, the adoption on the 25th by the important Italian CP of its statement opposing such a conference at this time -- emphasized by Pravda's publication of excerpts of same on the 28th -- introduced a new element of doubt, and some observers also saw significance in Khrushchev's simultaneous effort to gloss over the conflict and call for an end to polemics in his remarks to left-wing journalists.

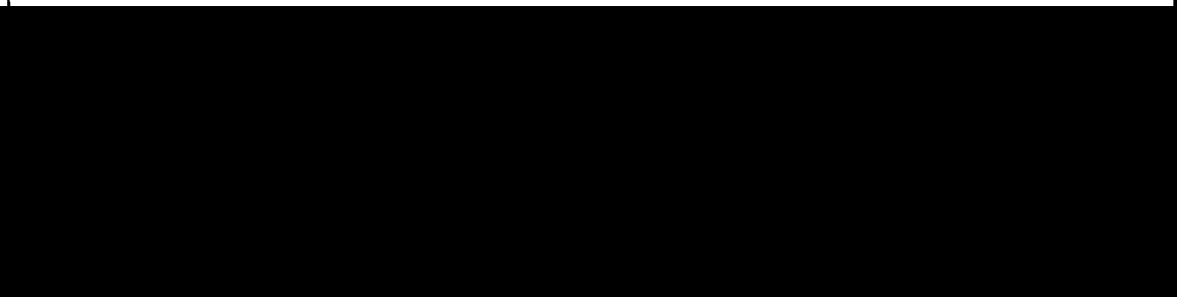
As of our cut-off date, then, we can only say that the state and future development of world Communism seem to be growing steadily more confused and uncertain, providing increasing opportunities as well as challenges for the alert propagandist.

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Unclassified Attachment - Chicom Chronologies

Appended to this issue as an unclassified attachment are copies of English translations of a "Chronology of Sino-Soviet Differences" and a "Chronology of Khrushchev's Betrayal of Stalin" published by the Hong Kong Communist daily Ta Kung Pao, which regularly reflects the CCP line. They furnish remarkably pithy, comprehensive presentations of the Chicom view of the development of the Sino-Soviet conflict and can serve propagandists as concise guides to the Chicom line on these developments, highlighting what they consider to be the most significant events and issues, and furnishing useful pegs for further propaganda exploitation.



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#15

12-25 October 1963

October 12 - Izvestiya features an article by Yelena Stasova, "a party member since 1898 who worked under Lenin's direct guidance for many years," showing how the present Chinese stand coincides with that of the Trotskyites, -- so much so that it has already earned a letter of gratitude from the Fourth International. The "all or nothing at all" thesis is a rehash of Trotsky's erroneous and dangerous thesis of "neither peace nor war," and the same is true of other Chinese theories.

"All Party members familiar with the Party's history and having extensive experience in practical activity can readily discern that the present course of the CCP leadership is a Trotskyite attempt to revise Leninism on an international scale.... I firmly believe that all members of the communist parties will give a worthy rebuff to the Chinese revisionists, who are encroaching on the most sacred cause in the present stage of development -- the unity of the world communist and workers movement. All Communists must fight against the Chinese splitters. This struggle must be waged with the utmost implacability and consistency, just as Lenin and our entire Party waged it during the struggle against Trotskyism."

Addressing a meeting in Melbourne, Australian CP Chairman Dixon condemns the Chinese leaders for their opposition to the test-ban treaty and their policy aimed at splitting the socialist camp and world communism. He also condemned the divisive and factional activities of E. F. Hill, a pro-Chicom leader and former ACP official who was recently expelled from the Party. (According to Tass.)

October 13 - At a gathering of "nearly 200 Australian Marxist-Leninists" in Melbourne to celebrate the CPR 14th anniversary, E. F. Hill pays high tribute to "our Chinese comrades," who are defending "the great liberating role of Marxism-Leninism" against "fierce attack by the modern revisionists, at the head of whom stands Khrushchev ." (NCNA)

October 15 - The Swedish CP daily Ny Dag carries an article admitting the failure of the Communist Party "in interest and maybe even ability" to deal with certain basic problems, singling out for special criticism such characteristic Soviet (and Chinese features as rigid centralization of economic planning and lack of freedom of the press. The author asks: "Is it not possible that Molotov would have liked to have a letter to the editor published in Pravda or some other paper to show his point of view?"

October 16 - Pravda Ukrainy, the Russian language central organ of the Ukrainian Party, carries an article by M. Kozovoy which resembles the Albanian polemics in its colorful sarcasm. Turning to "Mao Tse-tungism," Kozovoy notes that a survey of the list of sources used in the six volumes of Mao's works shows Stalin in first place with 24%. "The works of the founder of the Chinese national religion, Confucius, are second at 22%; with an additional 13% drawn from Chinese folklore, 12% from Lao-tse, and 7% from modern Chinese and foreign authors. "References to V.I. Lenin's works -- these are mostly statements quoted in Stalin's 'Problems of Leninism' -- amount to only 18%, and those to the works of Marx and Engels even less, namely only 4%." Citing additional figures on "the peasant character" of China and the CCP, B. Kozovoy says: "Lenin always warned that the working class, particularly when in power, must with all seriousness reckon with a petty bourgeois element in a peasant country.... This is obviously also the source not only of the bristling militant nationalism of the Chinese leaders, but also of their adventurous economic swoops."

Among other Chinese "campaigns in connection with highly unexpected and whimsical causes," Kozovoy mentions "a peculiar crusade to exterminate sparrows" because they eat much grain, but now they have been "rehabilitated" because they destroy pests: And finally, the writer derisively relates how the Chinese leaders, despite Soviet warning that it was economically erroneous,

"continue to proclaim their 'Great Leap Forward,' stating irrevocably that the economy must develop by 'waves.' Malicious tongues say that Mao Tse-tung, vacationing at the seaside, wrote a lot of verse on the sea, on waves, etc. But when this jumped from poetry into economy the result was disaster!"

October 18 - Writing in Moscow's Trud on the Chinese "Trend toward Equalization," V. Sorokin states that "Lenin considered material incentives and their combination with the enthusiasm of the working masses the only correct way to achieve concord between personal and public interests," and that "the Chinese leaders started to struggle against these Leninist principles as far back as 1958," when, 23 October, "People's Daily appealed to its readers: 'If you wish Communism to come into being, renounce piece-wages.'" It adds that "this Chinese point of view is very similar to the Trotskyite attitude."

October 19 - "Factional tension in the Indian CP reached the most critical point since the Chinese invasion with the formal ceasure today of Kerala state leader A.K. Gopalan for supporting pro-Peking Party elements," writes Washington Post correspondent Harrison from New Delhi.

October 19 - Hoc Tap, monthly political-theoretical journal of the North Vietnam Party, in an editorial "A High Degree of Vigilance Must Be Maintained Against the Vile, Disruptive Scheming of the Tito Group," strikes indirectly but unmistakably at Khrushchev:

"How is it possible for the Titoite renegades to act so audaciously? This is because certain persons, in flagrant violation of the 1957 Moscow declaration and 1960 Moscow statement, are trying to mend for the Tito clique its threadbare cloak of pseudo-Marxism-Leninism, breathe life into this political ~~mummy~~, and facilitate a renewal of its frantic opposition to Marxism-Leninism and its disruptive activities against the international Communist movement. Nevertheless, no witchcraft, however "mysterious," can clear the Titoites of their crimes, turn these renegades into Communists and transform into an "advanced socialist" country one which is degenerating into a capitalist country."

Moscow's Red Star features an article by one Prof. M. Ukrantsev which "provides a true explanation of the present economic difficulties in the CPR" in reply to "attempts by the Peking press to depict Soviet economic aid to China in a distorted light and place blame ... directly on the Soviet Union." After rehashing familiar statistics on Soviet technical assistance, he says:

"Unfortunately, successes in carrying out the socialist transformation of the country and fulfilling the first 5-year plan went to Chinese leaders' heads. They decided that they could cope with the most fantastic and unrealistic tasks and embarked upon risky economic experiments....began to ignore the experience of other socialist countries...juxtaposed the law of planned proportional development with their 'law' of the leap forward....It was thus evident that the influence of petit-bourgeois ideology, which was also the source of leftist deviations and attempts to skip the socialist stage of building, was affecting the Chinese leadership. Their nationalistic and avant-gardist tendencies were reflected in their efforts to prove that they had found the shortest path to Communism and therefore should stand at the head of the World Communist Movement."

Why do the Chinese leaders blacken the USSR and blame it? "The CCP leaders hope that by having provoked an anti-Soviet mood in their own country they will be able to justify the present turnabout in policy and escape responsibility for their serious mistakes in guidance of the national economy."

On the same day, a 5-member team of Chinese construction experts arrives in Mongolia to design the second stage of a residential quarter, "one of the projects under construction in Mongolia with China's aid." (NCNA)

October 20 - A Norwegian CP delegation visiting Moscow -- including Political Secretary Vogt and chief editor Larsen of the central organ Friheten, but not Chairman Loevlien or any other member of the group which had visited Peking last year -- reaffirms "an identity of views of both fraternal parties on all matters of principle under discussion." (Tass)

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October 21 - Peking publishes the fourth in its series of joint Red Flag/People's Daily editorials commenting on the 14 July CPSU open letter, a 10,000-word article entitled "Apologists of Neocolonialism." (First 3 articles dated September 6, 13, and 26.) It begins with a discussion of the evils of neocolonialism and of CPSU "Prescriptions for Abolishing the Revolution of the Oppressed Nations:"

"The first prescription is labeled peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition.... The second ... aid to backward countries.... To speak plainly, the policy and purpose of the leaders of the CPSU in their aid to newly independent countries in recent years are open to suspicion. They often take an attitude of great-power chauvinism and national egoism...."

The third ... disarmament.... Khrushchev here sounds like a preacher. Downtrodden people of the world, you are blessed! If only you are patient, if only you wait until the imperialists lay down their arms, freedom will descend upon you.... This is not just the fostering of illusions; it is opium for the people.

The fourth ... elimination of colonialism through the United Nations.... In a speech at the U.N. General Assembly in September 1960, Khrushchev asked: 'Who, if not the U.N. Organization, should champion the abolition of the colonial system of government?' ... what he really means ... is looking to the imperialists for help."

The article repeatedly cites Stalin, who in 1925 had "fought the liquidationists, represented by the Trotskyites and Zinovievites," and uses his words in accusing the CPSU leaders of taking "the path of nationalism and degeneration":

"Stalin depicted the line of thinking of the liquidationists as follows:

Support the liberation movement in China? But why? Wouldn't that be dangerous? Wouldn't it bring us into conflict with other countries? Wouldn't it be better if we established 'spheres of influence' in China in conjunction with other 'advanced' powers and snatched something from China for our own benefit? That would be both useful and safe ... etc.

The present leaders of the CPSU have gone farther than the old liquidationists. Priding themselves on their cleverness, they only take up what is 'both useful and safe!' Mortally afraid of being involved in conflict with the imperialist countries, they have set their minds on opposing the national liberation movement. They are intoxicated with the idea of the two 'superpowers' establishing spheres of influence throughout the world."

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Chou En-lai's warning is of serious, practical significance for the present leaders of the CPSU," the Chinese go on to strike sharply at the CPSU leaders for "peddling the 'theory of racism' and 'raising a hue and cry about the 'yellow peril' and the 'imminent menace of Genghis Khan,'" citing Stalin and Lenin in the process.

On the 21st the Peking press carries a report that "the Soviet press has brought its anti-China propaganda to a new height From 21 September to 15 October, 18 Soviet papers published more than 100 commentaries, articles and other items attacking China. Izvestiya even went so far as to print caricatures and satirical poems to insult Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

October 23 - Tass summarizes a 30-page-plus editorial in the latest Kommunist on "the campaign launched in Peking against fraternal Communist parties," which it calls "an offensive against the very mainstays of Marxism-Leninism."

"Great damage is being inflicted upon the cause of socialism, the entire revolutionary movement, and every Communist, no matter in what country he lives or in what situation he is struggling for his ideals, must fulfill his international duty -- to do everything possible to stop events from developing in the direction that the people in Peking want them to take. If this is not done in time, the consequences for the entire Communist movement may be very grave."

The article charges the Chinese with attempting "to replace Leninism with 'Mao Tse-tungism,'" and with having "decided to split the international Communist movement and to create some new movement under their aegis in order to achieve their aims. They consider discrediting the CPSU as the shortest road to this." The CCP's own political and ideological conceptions "in many respects coincide with those of the Trotskyites," it reiterates.

The article accuses the Peking leaders of inspiring and supporting various anti-party, factional groups in other countries, "obviously trying to knock together an international bloc out of such groups and groupings, mostly consisting of people who were expelled from Communist parties -- all sorts of unprincipled elements." However, says Kommunist, "65 parties have already expressed, in official decisions, their full solidarity with and support for the ... CPSU ... and condemned the Peking splitters."

An Albanian Zeri I Popullit editorial on U.N. action on China sees in the proceedings "fresh proof of common anti-Chinese agreement between the imperialists and the modern revisionists"

October 24 - In Moscow's Trud, Academician Yevgeniy Zhukov addresses himself to "the utter groundlessness of the claim of the Chinese leaders to speak on behalf of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America." "Using demagogic ultrarevolutionary phrases as a cover," they have "sunk into the morass of narrow nationalism and renounced the principles of proletarian internationalism."

Displaying "a crying misunderstanding of the most important and vital problems facing the majority of sovereign Afro-Asian states," they "insist with sickening repetition that oppressed people can fight imperialism allegedly by one method alone -- armed struggle."

October 25 - A CC plenum of the Italian CP adopted a 12,000-word statement (published in full in Unita on the 26th and in excerpts in Pravda on the 28th) which, while criticizing a whole series of errors and distortions in the Chinese positions, expresses opposition to the convening of a conference of the world Communist parties at this time. In tune with Togliatti's standing call for "polycentrism," the statement maintains that "Unity in diversity and autonomy are realistic and indispensable in present conditions." But it would be impossible to discuss and analyze new problems which are emerging today in the present conditions. Thus it is necessary to create certain conditions not existing today and to carry out "complex preparatory work" first.

CHRONOLOGIE -- DISSENSIONS COMMUNISTES

No 15

12-25 octobre 1963

12 octobre: Izvestiya publie un article de Yelena Stasova, "membre du parti depuis 1898, qui a travaillé sous la direction immédiate de Lénine pendant un grand nombre d'années", et qui montre comment la position présente des Chinois correspond à celle des trotskystes, -- à un tel point qu'elle a déjà mérité une lettre de gratitude de la part de la 4^e Internationale. La thèse "Tout ou rien" n'est qu'une répétition de la thèse dangereuse et erronée de Trotsky, celle de "Ni paix ni guerre", et cela est vrai des autres théories chinoises.

"Tous les membres du parti connaissant l'histoire du parti et ayant acquis une grande expérience pratique sont en mesure de voir que le cours adopté par les leaders du parti communiste chinois constitue une tentative trotskyste de reviser le léninisme sur une échelle internationale ... Je crois fermement que tous les membres des partis communistes rejèteront les révisionnistes chinois comme ils le méritent, car ils empiètent sur la cause la plus sacrée dans son stade présent de développement -- celle de l'unité du monde communiste et du mouvement ouvrier. Tous les communistes doivent combattre contre les séparatistes Chinois. Cette lutte doit être implacable et continue, tout comme Lénine et notre parti tout entier l'ont menée lors du combat contre le trotskysme".

Lors d'une réunion à Melbourne, le président du parti communiste australien Dixon a condamné les leaders chinois pour leur opposition au traité interdisant les essais nucléaires et pour leur politique tendant à diviser le camp socialiste et le communisme mondial. Il a condamné également les activités de E. F. Hill, leader pro-chinois et ancien officiel du parti communiste australien, qui fut récemment expulsé du parti. (D'après TASS)

13 octobre: Au cours d'une réunion de "près de 200 marxistes-léninistes australiens" à Melbourne, célébrant le 14^e anniversaire de la République Populaire Chinoise, E. F. Hill salue "nos camarades chinois" qui défendent "le grand rôle libérateur du marxisme-léninisme" contre "les attaques féroces des révisionnistes modernes à la tête desquels se trouve Khrouchtchev". (Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle).

15 octobre: Le quotidien du P.C. suédois, Ny Dag, publie un article admettant l'échec subi par le parti communiste "sous le rapport de l'intérêt et peut-être même des qualités qu'il a pour traiter de certains problèmes fondamentaux, soulignant spécialement certains traits caractéristiques des soviets (et des Chinois) tels que centralisation rigide du plan économique, et absence de liberté dans la presse. L'auteur demande: "Ne serait-ce pas vrai que Molotov aurait aimé faire publier une lettre à l'éditeur dans Pravda ou dans quelque autre journal afin de faire connaître son point de vue?"

16 octobre: A Kiev, l'organe central du parti ukrainien publiait en langue russe, la Pravda Ukrainy, un article par M. Kozovoy qui par ses sarcasmes rappelle la polémique albanaise. Se tournant vers le

"mao tse-tungisme", Kozovoy souligne qu'une étude de la liste des sources utilisées dans les six volumes des travaux de Mao montre que Staline tient la première place avec 24 pour-cent. "Les travaux du fondateur de la religion nationale chinoise, Confucius, se trouvent au second rang avec 22 pour-cent, 13 pour-cent proviennent du folklore chinois, 12 pour-cent de Lao-tse, et 7 pour-cent des auteurs chinois et étrangers modernes. Les références aux travaux de Lénine, principes mentionnés dans les "Problèmes du léninisme" de Staline, ne se montent qu'à 18 pour-cent, et celles aux travaux de Marx et d'Engels, à bien moins encore, plus précisément à 4 pour-cent". Mentionnant les chiffres supplémentaires établissant le "caractère paysan" de la Chine et du P.C. Chinois, B. Kozovoy déclare: "Lénine a toujours souligné que la classe ouvrière, surtout quand elle se trouve au pouvoir, doit tenir compte sérieusement de l'élément petit-bourgeois dans un pays de paysans ... Cela constitue évidemment non seulement la cause du nationalisme militant des leaders chinois mais également celle de leurs élans économiques aventureux".

Parmi d'autres "campagnes chinoises concernant des causes inattendues et baroques", Kozovoy mentionne "une croisade bizarre pour l'extermination des moineaux" car ils mangent trop de grain; ces derniers viennent "d'être réhabilités" car ils détruisent les fléaux! En fin de compte, l'auteur se moque de la façon dont les leaders chinois, malgré la mise en garde par les Soviétiques que cela était une erreur du point de vue économique,

"continuent à proclamer leur 'grand bon en avant' déclarant irrévocablement que l'économie doit se développer par vagues. De mauvaises langues disent que Mao Tse-tung, en vacances au bord de la mer, a écrit beaucoup de poésie au sujet de la mer, des vagues, etc. Mais lorsque cela est passé de la poésie dans l'économie, le résultat fut désastreux!"

18 octobre: Ecrivant dans le Trud de Moscou sur "La tendance chinoise à l'égalisation", V. Sorokin déclare que "Lénine considérait que les encouragements matériels combinés à l'enthousiasme des masses travailleuses était le seul moyen correct de concilier les intérêts publics et privés," et le début de la lutte des leaders chinois contre ces principes léninistes remonte à 1958", lorsque le 23 octobre, le Quotidien du peuple déclarait à ses lecteurs: 'Si vous désirez que le communisme s'établisse, renoncez au salaire à la pièce'. Il ajoute que "ce point de vue chinois s'apparente de près à l'attitude trotskyste".

19 octobre: "La tension au sein du P.C. indien a atteint un point critique depuis l'invasion chinoise, avec la motion de censure officielle dans l'Etat de Kérala contre le leader A. K. Gopalan, pour avoir soutenu les éléments du parti en faveur de Pékin", écrit le correspondant du "Post" de Washington, Harrison, de New Delhi.

19 octobre: Hoc Tap, journal mensuel politique et théorique du parti nord-vietnamien, dans un éditorial "Il faut maintenir la vigilance à un haut degré contre les bases manigances du groupe Tito", attaque indirectement mais sans erreur possible Khrouchtchev:

"Comment-est-il possible aux rénégats titoïstes d'agir si audacieusement? C'est parce que certaines personnes, en

violation flagrante de la déclaration de Moscou de 1957 et de la déclaration de Moscou de 1960, cherchant à réparer pour la clique de Tito leur voile usée de pseudo-marxisme-léninisme, insuffler la vie dans cette momie politique, et faciliter la reprise d'une opposition forcée au marxisme-léninisme ainsi que les activités destructives contre le mouvement communiste international. Néanmoins, aucune sorcellerie, aussi mystérieuse soit-elle, ne saurait laver les titoistes de leur crime, transformer ces renégats en communistes, et faire un pays "socialiste avancé" d'un pays qui dégénéré en pays capitaliste".

L'Etoile rouge de Moscou publie un article du professeur M. Ukraintsev qui "donne la vraie explication des difficultés économiques qu'éprouve en ce moment la République Populaire Chinoise" en réponse "aux tentatives de la presse pékinoise de présenter l'aide économique soviétique à la Chine sous une lumière déformée et de placer le blâme ... directement sur l'Union soviétique". Après avoir répété des statistiques familières sur l'aide technique des Soviets, il déclare:

"Malheureusement, les succès obtenus en procédant à la transformation socialiste du pays, et en accomplissant les données du premier plan quinquennal se sont portés à la tête des leaders chinois. Ils décidèrent qu'ils pouvaient s'attaquer à des tâches les plus fantastiques et les moins réalistes et s'embarquèrent dans des expériences économiques dangereuses... Ils ont ignoré l'expérience acquise par d'autres pays socialistes ... juxtaposèrent la loi du développement proportionnel planifié avec leur 'loi' de bond en avant ... Ils fut donc évident que l'influence de l'idéologie petit-bourgeois, qui fut également la cause de déviations de gauche et de tentatives d'éliminer l'étape de construction socialiste, affectait les leaders chinois. Leurs tendances nationalistes et avant-gardistes se reflètent dans leur efforts de démontrer qu'ils ont trouvé le plus court chemin vers le communisme, et que par conséquent ils devraient se trouver à la tête du mouvement communiste mondial".

Pourquoi donc les leaders chinois accusent-ils l'Union soviétique? "Les leaders du parti communiste chinois espèrent qu'ayant créé un sentiment anti-soviétique dans leur propre pays ils seront capables de justifier le revirement présent de leur politique et d'échapper à la responsabilité pour les erreurs sérieuses de direction commises dans l'économie nationale".

Le même jour, un groupe d'experts en construction chinois composé de 5 membres est arrivé en Mongolie pour faire les plans de la deuxième étape de construction d'un quartier résidentiel, "l'un des projets de construction en Mongolie accomplis avec l'aide chinoise". (Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle).

20 octobre: Une délégation du P.C. norvégien en visite à Moscou, dont le secrétaire politique Vogt et le chef éditeur Larsen de l'organe central Friheten, mais non pas le président Loevlien ou tout autre

membre du groupe qui a visité Pékin l'année dernière, réaffirme "une identité de vues entre les deux partis fraternels pour toutes les questions de principe en cours de discussion". (TASS)

21 octobre: Pékin publie le 4^e éditorial de sa série d'éditoriaux en commun par le Drapeau rouge et le Quotidien du peuple concernant la lettre ouverte du 14 juillet du P.C. de l'U.R.S.S., un article de 10 000 mots intitulé "Apologistes du néo-colonialisme". (Les premiers trois articles datent du 6, 13 et 26 septembre). L'article commence par une discussion des mots du néo-colonialisme et "des prescriptions pour abolir la révolution dans les nations opprimées" préconisées par le P.C. de l'Union soviétique:

"La première prescription est intitulée coexistence pacifique et compétition pacifique... La seconde ... aide aux pays retardataires... Pour parler ouvertement, la politique et le but des leaders du parti communiste de l'Union soviétique dans leur aide aux pays nouvellement indépendants, prêtent à des soupçons. Ils prennent souvent une attitude de chauvinisme de grande puissance et d'égoïsme national..."

"Le 3^e ... désarmement ... là, Khrouchtchev paraît prêcher. Peuples opprimés du monde, vous êtes bénis! Si seulement vous restiez patients, si seulement vous attendiez jusqu'à ce que les impérialistes déposent leurs armes, la liberté dépendra sur vous... Cela ne constitue pas seulement une promotion d'illusion, c'est de l'opium pour le peuple."

"Le 4^e ... l'élimination du colonialisme à l'aide des Nations unies... Dans un discours à l'Assemblée générale en septembre 1960, Khrouchtchev demanda: Qui sinon l'Organisation des Nations unies devrait être le champion de l'abolition du système colonial de gouvernement? ... Ce qu'il entend en réalité ... c'est d'obtenir l'aide des impérialistes".

L'article citerait Staline qui, en 1925, "a combattu le liquidationisme, représenté par les trotskystes et les zinoviétistes", et en accusant les leaders du parti communiste de l'Union soviétique il déclare qu'ils prennent "le chemin du nationalisme et de la dégénérescence".

"Staline caractérisa comme suit la façon de penser des liquidationnistes:

"Soutenir le mouvement de libération en Chine? Mais, pourquoi? Ne serait-ce pas dangereux? Cela ne nous entraînerait-il pas en des conflits avec d'autres pays? Ne serait-ce pas mieux si nous établissions des sphères d'influence en Chine, avec d'autres pays avancés, et que nous arrachions quelque chose avec la Chine pour notre profit personnel? Cela serait utile et sans danger ... etc.

Les leaders actuels du parti communiste de l'union soviétique sont allés plus loin que les anciens liquidationnistes. Satisfaits de leur propre habileté, ils ne prennent que ce

qui est à la fois utile et sans danger! Possédés d'une crainte mortelle de se trouver impliqués dans un conflit avec des pays impérialiste, ils ont l'esprit fixé sur l'opposition au mouvement de libération nationale. Ils sont intoxiqués par l'idée des deux super-puissances établissant leur sphère d'influence dans le monde".

Concluant que l'avertissement donné par Staline "est d'une signification sérieuse et pratique pour les leaders actuels du parti communiste de l'Union soviétique, les Chinois s'attaquent violemment à ces leaders pour "leur colportage des 'théories de racisme'" et pour "soulever à corps et à cris la question du 'péril jaune' et de la 'menace imminente de Genghis Khan'", citant Staline et Lénine au cours de leurs attaques.

Le 21, la presse de Pékin publia un rapport selon lequel "la presse soviétique a porté sa propagande anti-chinoise à un niveau jamais encore atteint... Du 21 septembre au 15 octobre, 18 journaux soviétiques ont publié plus de 100 commentaires et articles attaquant la Chine. Izvestiya est allée même jusqu'à publier des caricatures et des poèmes satiriques insultant le président Mao Tse-tung".

23 octobre: TASS résume un éditorial de plus de 30 pages paru dans la dernière édition du Kommunist sur "la campagne lancée par Pékin contre les partis communistes fraternels", campagne qu'il appelle "une offense contre les arc-boutants véritables du marxisme-leninisme".

"Un grand tort vient d'être fait à la cause du socialisme, au mouvement révolutionnaire tout entier, et chaque communiste, quel que soit le pays dans lequel il vive ou quelle que soit la situation dans laquelle il lutte pour ses idéals, doit remplir son devoir international -- faire tout son possible d'empêcher les événements de prendre le cours que le gens de Pékin veulent leur faire suivre. Si cela n'est pas fait à temps, les conséquences pour le mouvement communiste tout entier risquent d'être très graves".

L'article accuse les Chinois de tenter "de remplacer le léninisme par le 'Mao Tse-tungisme'", et d'avoir "décidé de créer une scission dans le mouvement communisme international et de créer quelque mouvement nouveau sous leur égide dans le but de parvenir à leurs fins. Ils considèrent que discréditer le parti communiste de l'Union soviétique constitue le chemin le plus court pour y parvenir. L'article affirme de nouveau que les conceptions politiques et idéologiques du parti communiste chinois "coïncident sous bien des rapports avec celles des trotskyistes".

L'article accuse les leaders de Pékin d'inspirer et de soutenir divers groupements séparatistes et anti-parti dans d'autres pays", cherchant évidemment de faire de ces groupements un bloc international consistant surtout de gens qui furent expulsés des partis communistes, et qui représentent toutes sortes d'éléments sans principes. Cependant, déclare le Kommunist, "65 partis ont déjà exprimé, en des décisions officielles, leur solidarité entière avec le parti communiste de l'Union soviétique... et leur soutien de celui-ci... et condamneront les séparatistes de Pékin".

Un éditorial du Zeri i Popullit albanais sur la décision des Nations unies à l'égard de la Chine voit dans cette action "une preuve nouvelle d'un accord commun contre la Chine entre les impérialistes et les révisionnistes modernes".

24 octobre: Dans le Trud de Moscou, le membre de l'Académie Eugène Zhukov parle "du manque de fondement total de la prétention des leaders chinois de parler au nom des peuples de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique Latine". "Se servant de phrases démagogiques et ultra-révolutionnaires en tant que paravant, ils se sont enfoncés dans le borbier du nationalisme étroit et ont renoncé au principe de l'internationalisme prolétarien". Faisant preuve "d'une méconnaissance monumentale des problèmes les plus importants et les plus vitaux qui se posent à la majorité des pays souverains de l'Afrique et de l'Asie", ils "insistent, à l'aide de répétitions écoeurantes, sur les faits que les peuples opprimés peuvent soi-disant combattre l'impérialisme à l'aide de la seule méthode qui est celle de la lutte armée".

25 octobre: Le plénum du C.C. du P.C. italien a adopté une déclaration de 12 000 mots (publiée en entier dans l'Unita du 26 et dont des passages ont été donnés dans Pravda du 28) qui, tout en critiquant une série d'erreurs et de déformations que comportent les positions chinoises, expriment son opposition à la convocation en ce moment d'une conférence des partis communistes du monde. D'accord avec l'appel de Togliatti en faveur "du polycentrisme", la déclaration affirme que "l'unité dans la diversité et l'autonomie sont réalistes et indispensables dans les conditions présentes". Mais il serait impossible de discuter et d'analyser les nouveaux problèmes qui se posent aujourd'hui dans les conditions présentes. Il est donc nécessaire de créer certaines conditions qui n'existent pas aujourd'hui et d'accomplir au préalable "un travail préparatoire complexe".

CRONOLOGIA -- DISENSIONES COMUNISTAS

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12 Octubre: "Izvestiya" publica un artículo de Yelena Stasova, "miembro del partido desde 1898 que trabajó por muchos años bajo la dirección inmediata de Lenin", demostrando cómo la actual posición china coincide con la de los trotskistas -- al extremo de que ya se ha granjeado una carta de gratitud de la Cuarta Internacional. La tesis de "todo o nada" es la errónea y peligrosa tesis de Trotsky de "ni paz ni guerra", recalentada, y lo mismo las otras teorías chinas.

"Todos los miembros del Partido enterados de la historia del Partido y con extensa experiencia en la actividad práctica descubren fácilmente que el actual rumbo del liderazgo del PC chino es una tentativa trotskista de revisar el leninismo en escala internacional ... Creo firmemente que todos los miembros de los partidos comunistas darán su merecido rechazo a los revisionistas chinos, que están invadiendo la causa más sagrada de la actual etapa de desarrollo -- la unidad del movimiento mundial comunista y obrero. Todos los comunistas debemos luchar contra los escisionistas chinos. Dicha lucha se debe conducir con la mayor implacabilidad y consecuencia, del mismo modo que Lenin y todo nuestro Partido la condujo durante la lucha contra el trotskismo".

Dirigiéndose en Melbourne a una asamblea, el presidente Dixon del PC australiano condena a los dirigentes chinos por su oposición al tratado contra los ensayos y su política dirigida a escindir el campo socialista y el comunismo mundial. Asimismo condena las actividades divisivas y faccionistas de E. F. Hill, dirigente pro China comunista y ex funcionario del PCA que fue expulsado hace poco del Partido.

13 Octubre: En una asamblea de "casi 200 marxistas-leninistas australianos en Melbourne para celebrar el 14° aniversario de la RP china, E. F. Hill rinde elevado tributo a "nuestros camaradas chinos", que están defendiendo "el gran papel libertador del marxismo-leninismo" contra el "feroz ataque de los revisionistas contemporáneos con Krushev a la cabeza". (Agencia Nueva China)

15 Octubre: "Ny Dag", diario del PC sueco, publica un artículo reconociendo el fracaso del Partido Comunista "en interés y tal vez hasta en habilidad" para tratar ciertos problemas básicos, dedicando especiales críticas a características soviéticas (y chinas) tales como la rígida contralización del planeamiento económico y la falta de libertad de prensa. Pregunta el autor: "¿No es posible que a Molotov la hubiera gustado ver publicada en "Pravda" o en algún otro periódico una carta suya al editor explicando su punto de vista?"

16 Octubre: En Kiev, "Pravda Ukrainy", órgano central en lengua rusa del partido ucranio, publica un artículo de M. Kozovoy que se asemeja las polémicas albanesas en su pintoresco sarcasmo. Refiriéndose al "Mao Tse-tungismo", Kozovoy apunta que un examen de la lista de fuentes empleadas en los seis tomos de las obras de Mao pone a Stalin en primer lugar con el 24 por ciento. "Las obras del fundador de la

religión nacional de China, Confucio, quedan en segundo lugar con el 22 por ciento", y un 13 por ciento adicional derivado del folclor chino, un 12 por ciento de Lao-tse y el 7 por ciento de autores chinos y extranjeros modernos. "Las referencias a las obras de V. I. Lenin -- en su mayoría declaraciones citadas en la obra 'Problemas del Leninismo', de Stalin -- suman solo el 18 por ciento, y las referencias a las obras de Marx y Engels mucho menos, o sea solo 4 por ciento". Citando más cifras sobre "la campesinidad" de China y el PC chino, dice B. Kozovoy: "Lenin siempre hizo la advertencia de que la clase obrera, especialmente cuando se halla en el poder, debe con toda seriedad tomar en cuenta un elemento pequeño burgués en un país campesino ... Esta es evidentemente también la fuente no solo del encrespado nacionalismo militante de los dirigentes chinos sino también de sus aventuristas y embullidas económicas".

En cuanto a "campañas con relación a causas sumamente inesperadas y antojadizas", Kozovoy menciona entre otras una "peculiar cruzada por exterminar los gorriones" porque comen mucho grano, pero ahora se les ha "rehabilitado" ¡porque destruyen plagas! Y por último el escritor burlescamente relata el modo en que los dirigentes chinos, no obstante la advertencia soviética de que era económicamente un error,

"continúan proclamando su 'Gran Salto Adelante', declarando irrevocablemente que la economía tiene que desarrollarse por 'olas'. Lenguas maledicentes dicen que Mao Tse-tung, de vacaciones en la playa, escribió gran cantidad de versos sobre el mar, sobre olas, etc. Pero cuando esto pasó de la poesía a la economía el resultado fue un desastre".

18 Octubre: Escribiendo en "Trud" de Moscú sobre "La Tendencia a la Igualación" china, V. Sorokin declara que "Lenin consideraba los incentivos materiales y su combinación con el entusiasmo de la masas laboriosas la única forma correcta de conseguir la concordia entre los intereses personales y públicos" y que "los dirigentes chinos empezaron a luchar contra estos principios leninistas no más tarde que en 1958", año en que, el 23 de octubre, el "Diario del Pueblo" hizo un llamamiento a sus lectores: "Si quieren que se produzca el comunismo, renuncien a la paga a destajo". Añade que "este punto de vista chino es muy semejante a la actitud trotskista".

19 Octubre: "La tensión escionista en el PC indio llegó a su punto más crítico desde la invasión china con la censura formal hoy de A. K. Gopalan, dirigente del estado de Kerala, por apoyar a elementos del Partido que están en pro de Pekín", informa el corresponsal Harrison del "Washington Post" desde Nueva Delhi.

19 Octubre: "Hoc Tap", órgano político-teórico del Partido de Vietnam del Norte, en un editorial titulado "Dabará mantenerse un alto grado de vigilancia contra la intriga vil y disruptiva del grupo de Tito", lanza un golpe indirecto pero inequívoco hacia Krushev:

"¿Cómo es posible que los renegados titistas actúen con tamaña aucacia? Es porque ciertas personas, en flagrante violación de las dos declaraciones de Moscú de 1957 y 1960, están tratando de remendarle a la camarilla de Tito su harapienta capa de pseudo-marxismo-leninismo, dar aliento de vida :

a esta momia política y facilitar la renovación de su frenética oposición al marxismo-leninismo y sus actividades disruptivas contra el movimiento comunista internacional. No obstante, no hay brujería, tan "misteriosa" como sea, que pueda exonerar a los titistas de sus crímenes, convertir a dichos renegados en comunistas y transformar en país "socialista adelantado" a uno que se está degenerando en país capitalista".

La "Estrella Roja" de Moscú publica un artículo de un tal Profesor Ukraintsev que "suministra una verídica explicación de las actuales dificultades económicas de la RP china," en contestación a "tentativas de la prensa pekinesa de pintar la ayuda económica soviética a China bajo una luz deforme y poner la culpa ... directamente sobre la Unión Soviética". Luego de refundir estadísticas bien conocidas sobre la asistencia técnica soviética, declara:

"Desgraciadamente, los éxitos en el cumplimiento de la transformación socialista del país y la realización del primer plan quinquenal se les subieron a los chinos a la cabeza. Resolvieron que podrían habérselas con las tareas más fantásticas e irrealistas y se lanzaron a arriesgados experimentos económicos ... comenzaron a hacer caso omiso de la experiencia de otros países socialistas ... yuxtapusieron la ley del desarrollo proporcional planeado con su 'ley' del salto a delante ... Fue por lo tanto evidente que la ideología pequeñoburguesa, que era también la fuente de desviaciones de izquierda y tentativas de saltar por encima de la etapa socialista de la construcción, estaba afectando al liderato chino. Sus tendencias nacionalistas y avant-gardistas se reflejaban en sus esfuerzos por demostrar que habían hallado la ruta más corta al comunismo y debían por lo tanto estar a la cabeza del Movimiento Comunista Mundial".

¿Por qué los dirigentes chinos manchan la URSS y le echan la culpa? "Los líderes del PC chino esperan que habiendo provocado un sentimiento antisoviético en su propio país les será posible justificar su actual virazón de política y eludir la responsabilidad por sus serios errores en la orientación de la economía nacional".

El mismo día, un equipo de cinco chinos expertos en la construcción llega a Mongolia a diseñar la segunda etapa de un barrio residencial, "uno de los proyectos en construcción en Mongolia con ayuda china". (Agencia Nueva China)

20 Octubre: Una delegación del PC noruego de visita en Moscú, entre ellos el secretario político Vogt y el editor en jefe Larsen del órgano central "Friheten", pero no el presidente Loevlien ni ningún otro miembro del grupo que el año pasado visitó Pekín -- reafirma una identidad de opinión de ambos partidos fraternos sobre todos los asuntos de principio en discusión". (Tass)

21 Octubre: Pekín publica el cuarto en su serie de editoriales conjuntos de "bandera Roja" y "Diario del Pueblo" comentando sobre la carta abierta de 14 de julio del PCUS, siendo este un artículo de 10.000 palabras titulado "Apologistas del Neocolonialismo". (Los

primeros tres artículos tuvieron fechas de 6, 13 y 26 de septiembre). Empieza con una discusión de los males del neocolonialismo y de las "Recetas para abolir la revolución de la naciones oprimidas" que atribuye al PCUS:

"La primera receta está rotulada coexistencia pacífica y emulación pacífica ... La segunda ... ayuda a los países atrasados ... Hablando en claro, la política y los propósitos de los dirigentes de PCUS en su ayuda a los países recién independientes en años recientes están abiertos a la suspicacia. A menudo toman actitud de chovinismo de gran potencia y de egoísmo nacional ...

La tercera ... desarma ... Aquí Krushev suena como predicador. ¡Pueblos pisoteados del mundo, bienaventurados sois! Con tal que tengáis paciencia, con tal que esperéis hasta que los imperialistas depongan las armas, la libertad descenderá sobre vosotros... Esto no es solo alentar ilusiones; es opio para los pueblos.

La cuarta... la eliminación del colonialismo a través de las Naciones Unidas ... En un discurso en la Asamblea General de la ONU en septiembre de 1960, Krushev hizo la pregunta: ¿Quién, si no la ONU, debería ser el campeón de la abolición del sistema colonial de gobierno? ... lo que realmente quiere decir ... es que se trate de conseguir la ayuda de los imperialistas".

Repetidas veces al artículo se refiere a Stalin, que en 1925 "luchó contra los liquidacionistas, representados por los trotskistas y zinovievistas", y utiliza sus palabras para acusar a los dirigentes del PCUS de echar por "la senda del nacionalismo y la degeneración":

"Stalin trazó la línea de pensar de los liquidacionistas de la siguiente manera:

¿Apoyar el movimiento de liberación de China? ¿Y por qué? ¿No sería peligroso? ¿No nos pondría en conflicto con otros países? ¿No sería mejor que estableciéramos 'esferas de influencia' en China en conjunto con otras potencias 'adelantadas' y echáramos mano de algo de China en provecho nuestro propio? Eso sería útil y no peligroso ... etc.

Los actuales dirigentes del PCUS han excedido a los antiguos liquidacionistas. Jactándose de su agudeza, echan mano solo de lo que es 'útil y no peligroso'. Con un miedo mortal de verse envueltos en conflicto con los países imperialistas, se les ha metido en la cabeza oponerse al movimiento de liberación nacional. Están embriagados con la idea de que las dos 'superpotencias' establezcan esferas de influencia por todo el mundo".

Concluyendo que "es de significado serio y práctico para los actuales dirigentes del PCUS la advertencia" de Stalin, los chinos entonces se abalanzan contra los dirigentes del PCUS por ser "buhoneros de la 'teoría del racismo'" y "alzar una algarabía sobre el

'peligro amarillo' y la 'inminente amenaza de Genghis Khan"', citando de paso a Lenin y Stalin.

El día 21 la prensa de Pekín publica un informe de que "la prensa soviética ha llevado su propaganda contra China a un nuevo máximo ... Del 21 de septiembre al 15 de octubre, 18 diarios soviéticos publicaron más de 100 comentarios, artículos y otros materiales atacando a China. "Izvestiya" llegó al extremo de publicar caricaturas y poemas satíricos para insultar al presidente Mao Tse-tung.

23 Octubre: Tass resume un editorial de más de 30 páginas en la última edición del "Kommunist" sobre "la campaña lanzada en Pekín contra partidos comunistas fraternos," la cual califica de "ofensiva contra los propios soportes maestros del marxismo-leninismo".

"Grave daño está siendo propinado a la causa del socialismo, al movimiento revolucionario en su totalidad, y cada comunista, no importa en qué país viva ni en qué situación esté luchando por sus ideales, debe cumplir su deber internacional -- hacer todo lo posible por impedir que los acontecimientos se desenvuelvan en la dirección en que la gente de Pekín los quiere echar. Si esto no se hace a tiempo, las consecuencias para todo el movimiento comunista pueden ser en extremo graves".

El artículo acusa a los chinos de tratar de "sustituir el leninismo con el 'mao tse-tungismo'" y de haber "decidido escindir el movimiento comunista internacional y crear algún otro movimiento bajo su égida para alcanzar sus fines. Creen que desacreditar al PCUS es el camino más corto para esto". Las concepciones políticas e ideológicas del propio PC chino "en muchos respectos coinciden con las de los trotskistas", repite.

El artículo acusa a los dirigentes de Pekín de inspirar y apoyar diversos grupos antipartidistas y de división en otros países, "evidentemente tratando de amontonar un bloque internacional a partir de dichos grupos y agrupaciones, que constan en su mayor parte de gente expulsada de los partidos comunistas -- toda clase de elementos desprovistos de principio". No obstante, dice "Kommunist", "65 partidos ya han expresado a través de decisiones oficiales su plena solidaridad y apoyo para con el ... PCUS ... y condenado a los escisionistas pekineses".

Un editorial del "Zeri i Popullit" de Albania sobre la acción de la ONU respecto a China descubre en el procedimiento "nueva prueba de acuerdo antichino común a los imperialistas y los revisionistas contemporáneos".

24 octubre: En "Trud" de Moscú, el académico Yevgeniy Zhukov considera "la completa falta de fundamento de la pretensión de los dirigentes chinos a expresarse a nombre de las poblaciones de Asia, Africa y América Latina". "Empleando frases contrarrevolucionarias demagógicas como encubrimiento", se han "hundido en el pantano del nacionalismo estrecho y renunciado a los principios del internacionalismo proletario". Desplegando "una lamentable falta de comprensión de los problemas más vitales e importantes a que se aboca la mayoría de los estados soberanos afroasiáticos", "insisten con nauseabunda repetición en que los pueblos oprimidos pueden luchar contra el imperialismo

de un modo solamente -- el de la lucha armada".

25 Octubre: Un pleno del CC del PC italiano adopta una declaración de 12,000 palabras (publicada íntegramente en "l'Unita" el 26 y abreviada en "Pravda" el 28) en la cual, aun cuando critica una serie de errores y tergiversaciones en las opiniones chinas, se expresa en oposición a que se convoque ahora a una conferencia mundial de partidos comunistas. En coincidencia con el llamado de Togliatti al "poli-centrismo", la declaración mantiene que "la unidad en la diversidad y la autonomía son realistas e indispensables en las actuales condiciones". Pero sería imposible discutir y analizar nuevos problemas que están saliendo a luz hoy en las actuales condiciones. De modo que es necesario crear ciertas condiciones inexistentes en la actualidad y llegar a cabo primero un "trabajo preparatorio complejo".

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4 November 1963

708. Chinese Communists Expand International Propaganda Apparatus

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BACKGROUND: (See unclassified attachment for background material). As the Sino-Soviet rift keeps deteriorating, Communist China continues to construct an enormous propaganda machine which she is using to agitate and propagandize for her point of view in all countries of the world. Communists, since the days of Lenin, always lay great stress on the importance of a high-powered propaganda machine to publicize their own viewpoint, to counter the views of the opposition, and in general to exhort the masses to action. In the past 18 months the Chinese Communists have expanded their international broadcasting facilities in all languages to the point that Radio Peking is now on the air daily in such languages as ~~Hansa~~, Tamil and Swahili, in addition to the 42 hours per week that Peking beams in Russian to the Soviet Union. Chinese Communist functionaries have invested considerable time and money throughout the world in recruiting translators to go to Peking to participate in the psychological warfare for control of the international Communist movement. The Peking Review, which started life primarily as a vehicle to inform "fraternal" parties about developments in Communist China, has become the Chinese Party's principal international organ. In its English, French, Spanish and Japanese editions it now carries the principal treatises from People's Daily and Red Flag to Chinese Communist sympathizers all around the globe. Paralleling the construction of this gigantic propaganda network are Communist China's efforts either to take over or to split the various international front groups and to integrate these groups into its propaganda network. One of the best indications of Peking's efforts to gain adherents (particularly in the underdeveloped areas) is the fact that in the past 18 months, some 85 African delegations have travelled to China to be feted and entertained, and certainly to be briefed on Peking's views of what is wrong with Soviet leadership of the world Communist movement.

These are but a few of the many manifestations showing that Communist China is going all-out in building a propaganda network capable of supporting a full-fledged international Communist organization of her own.

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4 November 1963

709. Fortieth Anniversary of Lenin's Death

25X1C10b

BACKGROUND: Since Lenin died on 21 January 1924, the fortieth anniversary of his death will occur next January. In accordance with the Communists' practice of devoting special attention to anniversaries which are multiples of five and ten, they will no doubt give this anniversary special publicity. The Neue Zürcher Zeitung (28 September 1963) and the Journal de Genève (15 October 1963) report that a Soviet-Swiss team has been making a TV documentary film on Lenin's life, including shots of scenes he knew while in exile in Switzerland and interviews with persons who knew him. Moscow News (19 October 1963) announces that two new Lenin films are in progress, "In the Name of the Revolution" (in which Lenin and Cheka chief Dzerzhinsky befriend two orphans), and "The Blue Notebook" (in which Lenin restores the morale of a confused Zinoviev); moreover, "Lenin in Poland" will be produced at the end of the year, with Polish cooperation. It is likely that there will be many other propaganda features, such as commemorative ceremonies, editorial eulogies, and in particular, new publications of Lenin's works, perhaps including "newly discovered" Lenin documents.

Lenin occupies a unique and dominating position in the Bolshevik hall of fame. He was the founder of Bolshevism or modern Communism, and (despite the principles of Marxist historical materialism) there can be little doubt that without him, history would have been quite different. He is the only leader from the Soviet past who is still admired and respected by all Communists, and for them he is a symbol, like George Washington for Americans, or Joan of Arc for Frenchmen. He even receives some of the religious veneration which other nations reserve for Christ, Mohammed, or Buddha; witness the cult-like adoration at his tomb in Moscow.

Lenin's most important accomplishment was probably his introduction of military discipline into civil politics. Under the slogan of "democratic centralism" he gave a new meaning to the word "party"; instead of a loosely-knit grouping of people with similar aims, Lenin made the Bolshevik party a disciplined, hierarchical structure, which follows an established doctrine according to specific directions from a central authority. The democratic element is only represented by the easily manipulated procedure of indirect election and the easily emasculated principle of accountability; Communist organization actually resembles that of an army. Turning Clausewitz on his head as Marx turned Hegel on his head, Lenin regarded politics as the carrying-on of warfare by other means; all means which accomplish the end are satisfactory. As a recent article (Lewis S. Feuer, "Marx and the Intellectuals," Survey, October 1963) pointed out, Lenin's ideas were not democratic but elitist, and meant rule by

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a disciplined intelligentsia, not by the proletariat. Rosa Luxemburg saw the dangers of Leninism as early as 1904; and Bertrand Russell recognized most of them in 1919. As Lenin may have realized in his dying days, he took the actions which made Stalinism possible.

Lenin was not a vain man (as Stalin was), and while he lacked the vision of Marx, he was wise enough to abhor sycophants and dogmatists. His abilities as a speaker and organizer were probably higher than those of Marx, and undoubtedly he will continue to be considered one of the outstanding leaders in modern history. His cult, however, has been used in ways which even he (who was not at all squeamish about methods) would certainly have criticized.

At present, both Moscow and Peking claim to be the true heirs of Lenin. The Soviets resurrect (or invent) new Lenin documents, supporting the primacy of economics and other current Soviet lines, and they draw freely on Lenin's other works. The Chinese Communists publish statements and articles, from "Long Live Leninism" on through "Leninism and Modern Revisionism," which show the Master as an ardent revolutionary, opposed to any compromise. Three years ago, the Chinese made heavy use of the 80th anniversary of Lenin's birth. It is easy for both sides to use Lenin, since he was not a slave to consistency and adapted his views and tactics more than once to changed circumstances. Moreover, his COLLECTED WORKS amount to some 38 volumes; Lenin quotations can be found in support of some highly varied and even mutually contradictory positions.

If, as now seems quite possible, the CCP and CPSU break off party relations, each of these parties will make even greater efforts to prove itself the "true" Communist party. Each will make further attempts to gain exclusive possession of the Lenin symbol. Lenin's anniversary will doubtless figure prominently in any such attempts.

References:

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Jack Fishman and J. Bernard Hutton, THE PRIVATE LIFE OF JOSIF STALIN (London, 1962) -- sensational treatment of Stalin, including suggestions that Stalin murdered Lenin.

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Alan Moorehead, THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (New York, 1958) -- examines ties between the Bolsheviks and the German Imperial Government.

W.H. Chamberlain, THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917-1921 (New York, 1935) -- standard historical study.

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710 FE, NE. Indian Mirror of Sino-Soviet Tensions

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BACKGROUND: The Communist Party of India (CPI) which has strained for 25 years to follow the dictates of Moscow, however inappropriate or inimical to the interests of the workers and peasants of India, may be heading for a struggle for party control resembling the Sino-Soviet struggle for dominance in the international Communist movement.

Roots of Dissension. Long standing differences have created three major factions. Of the two extremist groups, the rightists support Moscow's ideological line and the leftists look to Peking for a revolutionary model. Declining Party membership (1959 estimate 250,000; 1963, 100,000) and rising Party factionalism over the past few years derive from many factors, three of which are unique to India:

a. The first elected Communist government took office in the Indian state of Kerala in 1957, apparently demonstrating the success of Soviet-backed parliamentary tactics. When the central Government removed the Kerala government in 1959 for failure to carry out its responsibilities, the CPI leftists hailed the ouster as proof that non-revolutionary policies were doomed to failure.

b. The CPI became the first Communist party in a non-bloc country to attack a Communist government. This unprecedented move followed the October 1962 Chicom invasion of India when the CPI declared its support for Nehru's capitalist government. The Chinese CP greeted this heresy with a scathing and widely circulated People's Daily editorial of 9 March 1963, castigating CPI Chairman S.A. Dange and "his revisionist clique" who support the "bourgeois" Indian Government against the Chinese fraternal party. Dange's 21 April reply justifies the CPI's nationalistic line in defense of the country and suggests that the "great Party" of China was "confused" in its "understanding" of the Indian position. The Soviet Union, meanwhile, took the unique position of neutrality between uncommitted India and Communist China.

c. Regional CPI organizations exercise an unusual degree of autonomy which prevents both firm control from the central party organization and issuance of monolithic policy lines. As pro-Chinese, left-wing power increases in such state organizations as West Bengal, Kerala and Andhra

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Pradesh, these organizations become even less responsive to central directives. Thus Soviet pressure, usually directed at the top of a pyramidal party structure, fails to affect many of the lower party echelons in India. The radicals, for instance, have set up parallel--but leftist--Party centers in the regions they control. CPI National Council resolutions against such centers have failed to close them.

The Indian Party, in common with most CPs, is subject to other stresses which are inherent in the Sino-Soviet dispute:

a. The struggle between nationalism and proletarian internationalism affects most strongly the parties in developing countries. The 1962 attacks on India set off a wave of nationalism to which a majority of the CPI bowed. The minority leftists disagreed violently with the official position and demanded Indian Communist solidarity with Chinese Communists. The government promptly jailed them for their disloyalty.

b. Tactical disputes over the various roads to socialism and, specifically, the best road to power in India, are major divisive forces. The Communists lost ground in the 1962 Indian general elections (although they remain the second largest Indian party, they hold only 33 of the 509 seats in the lower house of parliament). The leftists claim that the loss vindicated their own militant stand against co-operation with the bourgeois government; the moderates blamed the Sino-Indian conflict for the losses.

c. The Sino-Soviet dispute itself, which the CPI mirrors, is directly reflected in CPI dissensions. The rift between the militant, pro-Peking faction and the peaceful co-existence, pro-Moscow faction has deepened since 1960 when the international dispute became public. Like that quarrel, it has been limited to date to mutual recriminations and a struggle for control of the movement rather than a formal, organizational split.

Organizational Problems. The long-delayed CPI Congress (most recently postponed to early 1964) may see a fierce battle for power. The current release of imprisoned leftists may strengthen the pro-Peking party group. They will certainly fight to capture more state organizations and to elect a Secretary General -- a position left vacant by the resignation in February 1963, of E. M. S. Namboodiripad, former chief minister of the Kerala Government. Moscow has reportedly ordered Dange,

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the Party Chairman who has tried to lead the Party since February, to hold the Party together at all costs. Leftist gains could presage CPI attacks against the Nehru government which would be a serious blow to the USSR's pro-Nehru foreign policy and would strengthen Peking's position in the Party. These dangers may have contributed to the recent Kommunist (#15, November 1963) appeal to Communists throughout the world to oppose Red China's attempt to replace "Leninism with Maoism."

If the CPSU calls a 1964 world conference of pro-Soviet parties to denounce Communist China's policies, as currently rumored, CPI attendance would be significant not only because it is the only Asian party committed to Moscow but also because India is the scene of the major ideological and diplomatic confrontation between the two biggest Communist powers.

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CHRONOLOGY OF KHRUSHCHEV'S BETRAYAL OF STALIN¹

- 1894 Stalin, a student in the Tiflis Orthodox Seminary begins revolutionary activities, then aged 15. In the same year Khrushchev is born.
- 1898 March The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (the predecessor to the CPSU) holds its first Congress, announcing the founding of the party.
- 1912 Stalin is elected to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.
- 1917 Stalin is made member of the Politburo of the Bolshevik Party, joins Lenin in leading the successful October Socialist Revolution.
- 1918 to 1920 Khrushchev, aged 24, joins Bolshevik Party.
- The period of the civil war. Khrushchev works on the southern front as a low-level political worker. On the conclusion of the civil war in 1920, Khrushchev works in the Donbas coal mines, later studying in the Short-Term Secondary School for Workers and Peasants. On graduation he takes up Party work at Donbas and Kiev.
- 1922 Stalin becomes general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a post he holds until October 1952. He serves as member and secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee from 1922 until his death.
- 1924 Lenin dies. Stalin takes over the heavy task of leading the CPSU and the international Communist movement.
- 1929 Khrushchev studies in the Moscow Technological Institute.
- 1926 to 1933 Under Stalin's leadership, the first Five Year Plan for Socialist Construction is started. During his life, four Five-Year Plans have been carried out.
- 1931 Jan Khrushchev serves as Party secretary of the Baumann district Committee, and later as secretary of Krasnopresensky district committee, Moscow Municipality.
- 1935 Khrushchev becomes First Secretary of the Moscow Provincial Committee, and of the Moscow municipal committee, CPSU. He holds these posts until 1937.

1937 January At the first rally in Moscow, Khrushchev condemns those who attack Stalin. He says: "Those comrades who attack Stalin are attacking us as a whole body, attacking the working class, and attacking the working people! In attacking Stalin they are attacking the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin."

June 6 At the 5th Party representative conference of Moscow Province, Khrushchev castigates Trotsky and the rightist group, and praises the firm leadership of Stalin.

1938 January Khrushchev becomes 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and later becomes alternate member of the Politburo.

June 8 Khrushchev says: "We must remember firmly Stalin's words: 'So long as capitalist encirclement still exists, the enemy will send spies and saboteurs into our midst.'"

1939 At the CPSU 18th Congress, Stalin admits the mistake of the exaggeration of the suppression of counter revolutionaries during the Party purges of 1939 and 1938. Khrushchev becomes member of the Politburo of the Central Committee.

1941 from Hitler launches war and invades the Soviet Union. National Defense Council with Stalin as chairman formed to direct operations. Khrushchev proceeds to the front line to work among the troops. He serves as member of the military councils of the Kiev Special Military District, the Southwestern Front Armies, the Stalingrad Front Armies, the Southern Front Armies, and the Ukrainian 1st Front Armies.

June

December Soviet Army scores great victory in battle for the defense of Moscow.

1943 Great victory in the Battle of Stalingrad.

1945 May Under direction of Stalin, the Soviet Army inflicts decisive defeat on Hitler, occupies Berlin and brings to an end the fighting in Europe in the Second World War.

1947 March Khrushchev becomes chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine. In December, he becomes 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, holding this post until December 1949.

to December

1949 December Khrushchev becomes secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and 1st secretary of the Moscow Provincial Committee.

Dec 21 On Stalin's 70th birthday Pravda carries a commemorative article by Khrushchev entitled: "The Stalin-type Among Different Nationalities is the Guarantee for the Invincibility of Our Country." The article enthusiastically lauds Stalin. The final sentence reads: "Glory to Comrade Stalin, the kind father of the Party, the Soviet people, and the workers of the whole world; the wise teacher; and the leader of genius."

1952 after October CPSU holds 19th Congress. Malenkov, as secretary of the Central Committee, makes report in behalf of the Central Committee. After the Congress Khrushchev becomes member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, and secretary of the Central Committee.

1953 Mar 5 Stalin dies. Khrushchev serves on Funeral Committee. Malenkov becomes 1st Secretary of Central Committee.

September Khrushchev kicks out Malenkov, and himself becomes 1st Secretary of Central Committee.

Nov 19 to Dec 2 CPSU Central Committee calls All-Union conference of chief editors of local newspapers. Speaking at the meeting, Khrushchev says: "Under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee, under the leadership of Lenin, and after Lenin's death under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet people have accumulated colossal experience in socialist construction."

1954 Mar 7 At the meeting of voters of the Kalinin electoral district of Moscow, Khrushchev makes a speech, saying, "The glorious 50th anniversary of CPSU movingly shows the invincible strength of the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin," and "the figures of the development of the heavy industry departments clearly show that owing to the wise policy of state socialist industrialization carried out under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Stalin, the great successor to the Leninist cause, the people of our country have made such colossal achievements."

Apr 26

As a USSR Supreme Soviet meeting, Khrushchev makes a speech. He says, "The Party and its Central Committee have carried out the behest and teachings of Lenin, and under the leadership of Stalin, the great successor to the Leninist cause, have untiringly consolidated the Soviet state...." He adds, "The immortal and fully vital theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin illuminate the road to Socialism."

June 15

At a meeting of the working people in Prague, Czechoslovakia, Khrushchev says, "The great Lenin and the successors to Lenin's cause, Stalin, teach us that the new social system, with its higher labor productivity, can and should achieve victory."

Dec 7

At an All-Union conference of architects and workers of the machine building industry, Khrushchev says, "The realization of industrialization of the Soviet state is due to our Party's firm and unshakable implementation of the directives of Lenin and Stalin. Today, the whole world recognizes the prowess of the Soviet Union...even the imperialists cannot but accept this. This has been achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of the long tested Communist Party. This is the result of the realization of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

1955 Jan 7

At a Moscow conference of young volunteers for reclamation, Khrushchev says, "Under the leadership of Stalin, our Party has untiringly carried out this line. Our whole Party had carried it out in the past, and will continue to carry out this line in the future. This is the victory of the line of state industrialization. We believe that victory will be ours, because we have the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to guide us forward."

Jan 25

At the CPSU Central Committee plenum, Khrushchev says: "V.I. Lenin taught us, 'the sole physical foundation of socialism is heavy machine building industry which can at the same time reform agriculture...' Stalin has developed these views. Under the leadership of Stalin our Party has resolutely carried out the sole correct line of the overall development of heavy industry, as laid down by Lenin."

"Soviet industry and agriculture are continually soaring.... This is the result of unity around the Party, and loyalty to the great Communist cause, the cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

- Feb 8 At a meeting of the Supreme Soviet, Khrushchev says, "Comrade Bulganin is a worthy disciple of the great Lenin, one of the closest comrades-in-arms of Stalin, the successor to the Leninist cause. He is an outstanding activist of the Party and the state."
- 1956 February CPSU holds 20th Congress. The Soviet leadership completely repudiates Stalin and takes the first step on the road of revisionism. At this meeting Khrushchev makes a secret report, maliciously maligning and vilifying Stalin.
- April 5 China issues document On the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship. The article elucidates China's view on Stalin.
- April Chairman Mao speaks to Mikoyan on the Stalin question, pointing out that Stalin's "merits outweigh his faults," and calls for "the concrete analysis and overall evaluation" of him.
- Sept 15-27 CCP holds 8th Congress. In his report Teng Hsiao-ping in effect criticizes the mistake of the so-called "opposition to the cult of the individual" brought forward at the Soviet 20th Congress.
- October Liu Shao-chi talks to the Soviet leaders; Chou En-lai talks to the Soviet delegation. The question of Stalin is repeatedly brought up.
- Oct 27 Chairman Mao talks to the Soviet Ambassador to China on the Stalin question.
- Dec 29 China releases document More on the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship, once more elucidating China's views on Stalin.
- 1958 March Khrushchev kicks out Bulganin, and becomes chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers.
- 1960 April China issues Long Live Leninism and two other articles.

- 1961 October CPSU holds 22nd Congress, and once more launches a violent attack against Stalin, even burning his corpse and moving it out of the mausoleum. This repeated opposition to Stalin, carried out for the third time now, is intended to remove the ineradicable influence exerted over the people of the Soviet Union and the people of the whole world by this great proletarian revolution-ary. It is also intended to repudiate Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin had defended and developed, in order to pave the way for their overall promotion of the revisionist line.
- Chou En-lai, leader of the Chinese delegation invited to the Congress, in his talks with Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders, frankly criticizes the mistake of the CPSU leadership, but Khrushchev completely rejects such criticism.
- November The Trotskyists do not bother in the least to conceal the joy over the CPSU 22nd Congress. They feel that the anti-Stalin movement of the Soviet leadership "opens the door to Trotskyism," and "will greatly benefit the development of Trotskyism and its organization -- the Fourth International."
- 1963 June 14 In its letter to the CPSU Central Committee, the CCP Central Committee proposes a frank exchange of views on the question of the evaluation of Stalin.
- July 14 The CPSU Central Committee publishes an open letter which avoids the Stalin issue, but instead puts on the CCP Central Committee the label of the so-called "cult of the individual."
- July 19 At the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Conference Khrushchev talks extensively on Stalin's "reign of terror," saying that "Stalin used the axe to preserve his political power." Describing the social order of the period, he says, "At that time, when a man went to work, often he did not know whether he could return home, whether he could see his wife, and whether he could see his children."
- Sept 13 Peiping publishes "On Stalin -- Second Commentary on the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee," exposing Khrushchev's five diabolical plots on the question of Stalin.

CHRONOLOGY OF SINO-SOVIET DIFFERENCES¹

1953

March 5. Josef Stalin dies.

September. Nikita Khrushchev becomes first secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU.

1956

February. CPSU holds 20th Congress. The Soviet Communist leadership takes the first step on the road of revisionism. Sino-Soviet differences begin.

April 5. China releases document: On the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

April Chairman Mao talks to Mikoyan on the Stalin question, pointing out that Stalin's "merits outweighed his mistakes" and that with the use of force, thus committing the mistake of great-nation chauvinism.

September. Khrushchev visits Yugoslavia.

Sept 15-27 The Chinese Communist Party holds its 8th Congress. Liu Shao-chi points out the error of "peaceful transition." In his report Teng Hsiao-ping in effect criticizes the mistake of the so-called "opposition to the cult of the personality" expressed by the 20th CPSU Congress.

October. Liu Shao-chi talks with Soviet leaders. Chou En-lai talks with Soviet delegation. Both repeatedly refer to the Stalin question.

Oct 23 Chairman Mao talks to the Soviet Ambassador on the Stalin question.

Oct 23 The counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary occurs. The Soviet leadership adopts a capitulationist line and prepares to abandon Hungary. The CCP opposes this mistaken line and puts forward correct proposals. These are later accepted by the CPSU.

¹ Hong Kong, Ta Kung Pao, September 7, 1963

Oct 30 The Soviet Government issues "Statement on the Development and Further Strengthening of the Foundation of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Other Socialist Countries."

Nov 1 The Chinese Government issues statement supporting the Soviet Declaration.

Nov 30 Chairman Mao talks again to Soviet Ambassador on the Stalin question.

Dec 29 China releases document: More on the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

1957

Oct 15 China and Soviet Union sign new technical agreement on national defense.

Nov 10 CCP Central Committee sends written document to CPSU Central Committee on "Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition."

Nov 14 to 16 Conference of Representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties of All Countries. Meeting adopts Moscow Declaration.

1958

Soviet leadership presents unreasonable demand in attempt to control China militarily. This is promptly and resolutely rejected by the Chinese government.

March Khrushchev becomes Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers.

1959

January CPSU holds 21st Congress.

June 19 Soviet Government unilaterally tears up new technical agreement on national defense, refusing to supply China with sample atomic bomb and technical data for its manufacture.

Sept 9 Tass issues statement on Sino-Indian border incidents, siding with the Indian reactionaries.

Late Sept Khrushchev and Eisenhower hold Camp David talks.

October Khrushchev participates in 10th anniversary celebrations of China. In speech at state banquet, he obliquely charges China with war madness, and in talks with Chinese leaders, he tries to sell in behalf of the United States the "two China's" idea.

1960

April China releases Long Live Leninism and two other articles.

May 1 United States U-2 plane encroaches upon Soviet airspace.

May 17 The United States sabotages the Paris Big-Four Conference. The "Camp David Spirit" collapses.

Early June CPSU demands that the Rumanian Workers' Party at Bucharest be turned into a meeting of fraternal parties of all countries, to exchange views on the international situation following the US sabotage of the Big Four summit meeting. The CCP considers the time too short, and suggests world conference of Communist Parties. The two Parties agree that representatives to the Rumanian Party Congress should make preparations for such a conference.

June 21 CPSU sends message to CCP Central Committee in an effort to force its own mistaken line on the international Communist movement, and also attacking the CCP.

June 24 to 26 Bucharest meeting is held. CPSU opens sudden attack on CCP. Khrushchev leads in encirclement of CCP. Delegation of Albanian Labor Party refuses to obey Russian baton.

June 26 Chinese delegation to Bucharest meeting issues written statement pointing out that Khrushchev's action creates a very bad precedent, and that the CCP would not crawl on its knees before the mistaken views which run counter to Marxism-Leninism.

July The Soviet Union suddenly and unilaterally decides to withdraw within one month all the Soviet experts in China, and to tear up hundreds of agreements and contracts. It also tears up the agreement on mutual aid in the publication of magazines, and demands that the Chinese Government recall a worker in the

Chinese Embassy in Moscow. It also insti-
gates disputes on the Sino-Soviet border.

- Sept 10 The CCP Central Committee replies to the communication from the CPSU Central Committee, systematically explaining its own viewpoint, refuting the attacks by the Soviet leadership, and bringing forward five positive suggestions for the settlement of differences and the achievement of unity.
- September The Delegation of the CCP Central Committee proceeds to Moscow for talks with the CPSU delegation. The Chinese delegation points out the mistakes of the Soviet Communist Party.
- October Representatives of 26 fraternal parties hold a committee meeting to draft preparatory documents for the holding of a conference of fraternal parties. Struggle marks the meeting.
- November Representatives of 81 fraternal parties meet in Moscow. On the eve of the meeting, the CPSU issues a 60,000-word letter attacking the CCP. At the meeting, however, after struggle, the revisionist line and viewpoint of CPSU are basically bankrupt, and the Marxist-Leninist line wins great victory. Meeting adopts Moscow Statement. Khrushchev signs Statement on behalf of CPSU. On the next day, at banquet in honor of representatives of fraternal parties, he speaks extensively on Yugoslavia being a socialist country.

1961

- October CPSU holds 22nd Congress, leading to the new peak of the movement to oppose Marxism- Leninism, to split the socialist camp and international Communist movement. Revisionism which was first brought forward at the 20th Congress is being gradually developed into a complete system. A large scale open attack is launched against the Albanian Labor Party. Another large scale attack against Stalin is launched. The Congress also adopts the new CPSU Program which reflects revisionism in a concentrated manner.
- Chou En-lai, leader of the CCP delegation invited to the Congress, in his address gives the position of the CCP. In his talks

with Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders, he frankly criticizes the mistakes of the Soviet leadership, but Khrushchev completely rejects them and even openly expresses support for the anti-Party elements of the CCP.

1962

- Feb 22 CPSU Central Committee sends letter to CCP Central Committee exerting pressure on the latter to abandon its Marxist-Leninist stand.
- April to May Through its organs and personnel in Sinkiang, the Soviet Union leadership carries out extensive subversive activities in Sinkiang, inducing and coercing tens of thousands of Chinese citizens to enter Soviet territory. This incident is still unsettled.
- May 30 CPSU Central Committee sends reply to CCP, even demanding that the leaders of Albania abandon their own stand as the prerequisite to the improvement of Soviet-Albanian relations, and the prerequisite to the holding of the conference of fraternal parties.
- Aug 25 The Soviet Government officially notifies China that the Soviet Union and the United States will reach agreement on the prevention of the spread of nuclear fallout, in the attempt to monopolize nuclear weapons, and to deprive China of the right to possess nuclear weapons to resist the United States nuclear threat.
- Oct 20 and on After large scale armed conflicts on the Sino-Indian border, the Soviet Union gives India extensive economic and military aid.
- Oct 28 In the Carribean crisis, the Soviet Union leadership submits to the United States nuclear threat, accepts the US demand which violates Cuban sovereignty through the "international observation" of the dismantlement of Soviet missiles, thus committing the mistake of capitulationism. On this account Mikoyan flies to Cuba on December 2 remaining there 24 days to oppress Cuba into agreeing to the inspection. But Cuba does not give agreement.

Since
November

The Soviet Communist leadership, on an international scale, intensifies its fierce opposition to the CCP and other Marxist-Leninist political parties, ushering in a new split of the socialist camp and the adverse current within the international Communist movement. Under its baton the congresses of five fraternal parties were transformed into scenes for the performance of the anti-China chorus. More than 40 fraternal parties issue resolutions, statements, and documents attacking the CCP and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

Dec 15 to
Mar 8 1963

The CCP issues 7 articles in reply to attacks, but it still leaves room for maneuver by refraining from naming the Soviet leadership in its attacks.

1963

Mar 31

CPSU Central Committee sends letter to CCP Central Committee systematically setting forth its own viewpoint on the problems which call for discussion between the two parties, particularly the question of the general line of the international Communist movement.

June 14

CCP Central Committee replies to letter of CPSU Central Committee, setting forth suggestions on the general line of the international Communist movement.

June 15 to 18

Plenum of CPSU Central Committee issues statement and resolution. Khrushchev speaks at meeting, arbitrarily saying that the CCP letter is a "groundless and slanderous attack," declaring the "resolute rejection" of the letter. On a nationwide scope, a wave of anti-CCP and anti-China movement begins.

June 27

Soviet "citizens" smash the windows of the Chinese Embassy.

July 1

The CCP Central Committee issues statement stating that in keeping with adherence to principle, strengthening of unity, elimination of differences, and the consistent stand of unity against the enemy, a delegation will be sent on schedule to Russia for the bi-party meeting.

July 5

The CCP delegation arrives in Moscow. The Sino-Soviet talks begin.

July 14 The CPSU Central Committee issues open letter to party organs at all levels and party members of whole country fabricating rumors and fiercely attacking the CCP.

July 15 The United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union hold negotiations in Moscow on the partial banning of nuclear weapons tests.

July 20 Sino-Soviet talks temporarily suspended. At the suggestion of the Chinese delegation, the two parties will continue talks at a later date, the time and place to be decided later.

July 25 The United States, Britain and the Soviet Union sign the treaty for the partial banning of nuclear tests. Thus emerges the great fraud in which the three become nuclear lords, while other people become nuclear slaves.

July 15 to Aug 30 The Soviet Union ushers in a new wave of the movement against the CCP and against China. During this period, the Soviet central newspapers alone issued nearly 300 articles and documentary materials attacking the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.

Communist China Expands Propaganda Mill

The latest issue of KOMMUNIST, the CPSU's leading journal, accuses the Chinese Communists of trying to "replace Leninism with Maoism" and charges further that the Chinese have gone beyond "splitting activities" and have decided to create "a new movement under their own aegis." In view of the importance that all Communists attach to propaganda activities, the Soviet Party undoubtedly has not overlooked the elaborate propaganda apparatus that the Chinese Communists have created to carry their case against Khrushchev and the CPSU to the far corners of the earth. The propaganda war between the USSR and Communist China is an outgrowth of their broader contest over which regime will lead the international communist movement and dictate its strategy.

Among Peking's prominent assets in this struggle are the 27 shortwave transmitters currently in use to broadcast daily in such languages as Tamil, Hausa, Hakka and Swahili. Radio Peking is on the air over 600 hours each week, not including domestic broadcasts or programs for Taiwan. There are also reports that China is assisting Radio Tirana (Albania) to expand into a powerful international transmitting center in order to increase further the capacity for carrying the Chinese Communist viewpoint to Europe, Africa and the Middle East.

The New China News Agency (NCNA) has undergone a similar expansion in the past two years. When the Czechoslovak government forced NCNA to close its Prague office, it was learned that the offices were staffed by some 150 Chinese. This figure alone gives a good idea of the scope of the Chinese propaganda machine! Today NCNA has more than 50 offices in all parts of the world and it is still expanding, especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Pravda recently called the Chinese press a "cornucopia of monstrous accusations against the Soviet Union," and indeed the People's Daily and Red Flag do devote extensive efforts to this activity. The Peking Review, which started life as a vehicle to inform the "fraternal" parties about developments in China, has become the Chinese Party's primary international organ. In its English, French, Spanish and Japanese editions it now carries the principal treatises from the Chinese press to Chinese Communist sympathizers all around the globe.

Chinese Communist officials all over the world have devoted considerable time and effort to recruiting translators to go to Peking to participate in the psychological warfare for control of the international Communist movement. Many Chinese pamphlets attacking the USSR have been translated into English, French, Spanish, German, Italian, Russian, Japanese, Vietnamese, Arabic, Hindi, Thai, Burmese, Indonesian, Korean and Esperanto, and distributed by all means possible, from hand-outs by Chinese diplomats to insertion into goods shipments to the USSR.

Paralleling the construction of this gigantic propaganda network are Communist China's efforts either to take over or to split the various international front groups and to integrate these groups into its propaganda apparatus. At the Moscow conference of the Women's International Democratic Federation in late June 1963, the Chinese delegates openly challenged the pro-Soviet leadership of the meeting and accused them of anti-Chinese maneuvers, manipulating the debate, violating democratic principles and maliciously spreading slanderous stories about the Chinese delegation. Similar outbreaks occurred at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, the Afro-Asian Writers Conference in Indonesia and the meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization Executive Committee in Nicosia, Cyprus. The Chinese Communist delegations actually succeeded in gaining control of the Tanganyikan and Indonesian conferences. Another yardstick of Peking's efforts to gain adherents (particularly in the underdeveloped areas) is the fact that in the past 13 months some 35 African delegations have travelled to China to be feted and entertained, and certainly to be briefed on Peking's views of what is wrong with Soviet Leadership of the world Communist movement.

These are but a few of the many manifestations showing that the Chinese Communists are going all-out in building a gigantic international propaganda network capable of supporting a full-fledged international Communist organization of her own. Whether or not the Chinese Communists will formally announce the creation of such an organization remains a matter for speculation, but this much is true: They have already made many of the preparations necessary to such a move.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM

May-June 1968

Indian Communism in Turmoil

by Harry Gelman

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EDITORS' NOTE: In a previous article for this journal ("The Indian CP Between Moscow and Peking," No.6, 1962), Mr. Harry Gelman examined the impact of the Sino-Soviet conflict on the internal unity of the Indian party. Here, he brings the story up to date, showing how later developments in that conflict have split the CPI wide open, leaving it temporarily under control of the pro-Soviet faction.

IN MID-OCTOBER of 1962, on the eve of the Chinese military offensive in India, the Communist Party of India (CPI) was in perilous straits. Though its position as the second largest party in India had been reaffirmed in the national elections only eight months before, the CPI was desperately divided. On one hand was the right-wing majority faction of the party, led by the new party chairman, S. A. Dange: this faction was still fairly loyal to the CPSU; it was willing to serve Soviet foreign policy interests by preserving a moderate line toward the "national bourgeois" government of Prime Minister Nehru; and it was anxious for the party to take a position on the Sino-Indian border dispute which would not isolate it from outraged Indian nationalist opinion. On the other side was a powerful left-wing minority, well represented in the central party organs, and particularly well entrenched in control of certain provincial party committees (such as those of West Bengal and Punjab) which through long habits of CPI indiscipline, had become de facto independent kingdoms supporting policies often incompatible with those of the central party leadership. The left faction was by now vociferous in its criticism of the CPSU and its expression of sympathy for the CCP; it was openly sympathetic toward the hard, militant line on Nehru urged by Peking; and it was adamant in refusing to admit that "socialist China could commit aggressions," no matter what this refusal cost the CPI. The tension within the party seemed such that a dramatic worsening of either the Sino-Soviet or the Sino-Indian conflicts might be the start of an open party split.

Both conflicts indeed worsened dramatically in late October: and the beginnings of a split in the Indian party have since then become discernible.

THE CHINESE GENERAL ATTACK in the Northeast Frontier Agency (NEFA) and Ladakh areas on October 20 marked a watershed

for the CPI, both in its attitude toward the Nehru government and in its relations with the world Communist movement. For the time being, this event left the CPI no more room for equivocation. If the party did not issue a forthright condemnation of Peking and pledge of support for the national government, it could expect most of the popular support it had painfully built up over the last decade to disappear rapidly; quite possible, the party itself might lose legal status. Right-wing CPI leaders such as Dange and provincial party committees led by the rightist faction therefore responded immediately with public denunciations of the Chinese aggression; but the CPI itself did not take an official stand until the party's National Council issued a resolution on November 1. During the twelve days between October 20 and November 1 two momentous events occurred to affect that resolution.

First, on October 22, the Cuban crisis began, and the Soviet Union apparently saw an overriding emergency touching on Soviet interest more vital than the need to preserve the Soviet position in India. On October 25, for the first and last time in three years of Sino-Indian border controversy, Pravda published an editorial siding with Peking. This editorial implied doubt of the validity of the MacMahon line as the border in the NEFA area, explicitly praised and endorsed the Chinese proposals for a ceasefire, opposed preconditions for a ceasefire (on which New Delhi was insisting) and called on Indian "progressives" (i.e., the CPI) to restrain themselves and their government. It seems likely that Moscow took this drastic step as a gesture seeking bloc solidarity at a time of military crisis. It is possible that a subsidiary motive, however, was a Soviet hope to buy Chinese forbearance in the event that a backdown on Cuba became necessary.

If the Soviets did entertain such a hope, it quickly proved illusory, for when Khrushchev did back down over Cuba the Chinese proceeded to scourge him unmercifully in their propaganda as an appeaser; they continue to do so to the present day. In the meantime, the Chinese made it plain that the gesture of appeasement the USSR had made toward them over India was entirely insufficient. On October 27 Jen-min Jih-pao printed an editorial attack on "Nehru's philosophy" which went much further than an editorial on this subject published by the Chinese party organ in May 1959, shortly after the Tibetan revolt. Whereas in the earlier case Nehru had been depicted condescendingly as a confused and vacillating leader whose policy was nevertheless "generally favorable," now he was said to have acted all along as a conscious agent of "reactionaries" and "imperialism" on really important questions of domestic and foreign policy. The Indian Communist Party was sternly admonished not to "trail behind" this reprobate by echoing his accusations against Peking, and S.A. Dange was derogated as a "so-called" Marxist-Leninist for having done so.¹ Finally,

with regard to the Soviet Union, the editorial made it clear that nothing short of a direct condemnation of Nehru and India (which Pravda of October 25 had not contained) would satisfy Peking's conception of "proletarian internationalism"² that what was being demanded of Khrushchev, in fact, was the total abandonment of his India policy, of the fruits of eight years of Soviet cultivation of the Indian population and the Indian "national bourgeoisie."

Thus, by the end of October, Moscow could see that it had blundered. It had jeopardized its position in the eyes of the Indian public to no good purpose; Peking was not appeased over Soviet policy toward India and had not been restrained from launching violent attacks on Soviet actions over Cuba. Accordingly, in a November 5 Pravda editorial and in subsequent Soviet comment, Moscow proceeded to edge away from the partial support it had given Peking on October 25 and to reassume its earlier position.

THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, meanwhile fought a momentous internal battle in the last week of October, as a result of which it disregarded the public advice given it by both Moscow and Peking and adopted a position unacceptable even to the CPSU. Dange's supporters in the National Council forced through a resolution which condemned Peking unequivocally and called on Indians to unite behind Nehru "in defense of the motherland against Chinese aggression." Although Pravda of October 25 had asked the CPI not to do this, such a statement may have been regarded by Moscow as inevitable. The CPI resolution went on, however, to say that the party was not opposed to India's "buying arms from any country on a commercial basis," and this Moscow could not stomach. By endorsing the acceptance of military aid from the "imperialist" West against Communist China, the CPI soon found itself at odds with many of Moscow's European adherents. For example, the British party, former mentor of the CPI, in October and November took a more and more openly anti-Indian position; the Czech party at first went so far as to repeat Peking's story that India had launched an "extensive offensive" on October 20,³ and as late as November⁴ was continuing to attack the validity of the MacMahon Line; and even the revisionist Italian party complained that "we fail to understand easily the position of the Indian Communist Party."⁵

Meanwhile, however, Moscow's retreat of November back toward a public posture of neutrality helped to make the CPI's domestic position more tolerable, and the Dange leadership hastened to fortify itself at home and defend itself abroad. On the very next day, it was announced that Dange had had a talk with Nehru in which he outlined to the Prime Minister the National Council resolution and assured Nehru of the CPI's support. A few days later, the CPI weekly organ published a pugnacious defense of the Indian party leadership against the

attack made by Jen-min jih-pao on October 27; the Chinese were accused of "national chauvinism," and of having made a blatant appeal for Dange's overthrow on the eve of the National Council meeting.⁶ At the same time, the CPI was reported to have written to all Communist parties of the world defending its position and asking for support.⁷

BY THIS TIME--early November--the central CPI leadership was at last firmly in Dange's hands, and the recalcitrant provincial party organizations were soon to succumb as well. Although the vacillating CPI General Secretary, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, apparently refused to sign the party resolution of November 1 (as Jen-min jih-pao carefully noted), he was isolated and powerless; the three leading left-faction spokesmen on the Central Secretariat had resigned following the passage of the resolution. While it was the pressure of Indian public opinion upon the party that pushed the leftists out of the central CPI machinery, Dange apparently owed it to the Indian government that these leftists lost their organizational position in the provinces. On November 7, the day after Dange spoke to Nehru, and again on November 21, the government made large-scale arrests of CPI cadres; the overwhelming majority of those arrested were leaders of the left-wing faction in New Delhi and in the provinces who had opposed or who had shown a lack of enthusiasm for the National Council resolution. Jen-min jih-pao has furnished its own comment on what happened next:

"The Dange clique exploited the situation and sent their trusted followers, on the heels of the police, to take over the leading organs of the party committees in a number of states. The purpose of these actions by Dange was to reconstitute the Indian Communist Party and wreck the Indian revolutionary movement so as to serve the ends of the big bourgeoisie!"⁸

In November and December the right-wing faction apparently did in fact take advantage of the sudden departure of the leftists to seize the party machinery for the first time in the left-wing strongholds of West Bengal and the Punjab, and to consolidate its dominant position everywhere else. This action seems to have evoked countermeasures on the part of the party's left-wing which may mark the beginning of an organizational split in the CPI. In the Punjab, the leftist provincial party first secretary, before being arrested, is said to have left instructions to his followers not to cooperate with the new provincial party leadership, and to have warned "against certain weak links in the party" who "would speak the language of the government."⁹ In West Bengal, an "underground" center is said to have come into being which similarly instructed party units to refuse to cooperate with the "usurping" right-wing leaders of the provincial party organization; according to the Indian press, many local party units in West Bengal have in fact maintained contact with this "underground" center and have refused allegiance to the official party organization.¹⁰ The

new management of the West Bengal party newspaper Swadhinata complained publicly that the outgoing leftist leaders had taken the organization's funds with them, mortgaged the Swadhinata presses, and left the newspaper in a financial and legal predicament in which it would be difficult to continue publication.¹¹

Peking, of course, has sought to blame the growing organizational division in the CPI on "Dange and company," who are said to have "used the power of the Indian ruling groups to push aside the people who disagree with them...and to split the party wide open."¹² At the same time, Peking's increasingly open calls in December, January and February for all "true Marxist-Leninists" to revolt against the policies and the "baton" of the CPSU were transparently designed to encourage factional strife in all Communist parties, including the CPI. As justification for its own position, the CPI leadership therefore eagerly reprinted all the anti-Chinese statements made by various Communist parties as the Sino-Soviet polemic expanded, including Ulbricht's lament at the East German congress that the "Chinese comrades" had not adhered to peaceful coexistence "in dealing with frontier questions with India."

MOSCOW, however, was by no means happy at the prospect of a formal split in the CPI, and particularly unhappy at the means by which it was being brought about. While remaining careful not to jeopardize relations with New Delhi, the Soviet press repeatedly protested the jailing of CPI members (particularly that of General Secretary Nambudiripad, who was detained for a week in late November). On December 30, a Pravda writer deplored "attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the Communist Party," citing a statement by an Indian Minister who was said to have declared that "the Communist Party should clear its ranks of questionable elements." Such efforts "to divide the Communists into the 'pure' and impure," Pravda complained, are nothing "but an attempt to kindle internal strife within the Communist Party, to split it."

In the light of this situation, Dange in December undertook a trip to consult with Communist leaders in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Italy and Britain. Peking later claimed that Nehru and Indian Home Affairs Minister Shastri had briefed Dange before his departure, and that Dange had acted as an agent of New Delhi;¹³ it seems likely, however, that Dange's first concern, as always, was to defend the position of S.A. Dange, and to justify in his talks with Khrushchev the actions taken by the CPI under his leadership. It has been reported in the Indian press that Dange was not altogether successful in this--that Khrushchev remonstrated against the National Council resolution as being unnecessarily blatant in condemning Chinese aggression, and that he criticized the CPI for not sufficiently qualifying its support of Nehru.¹⁴ After Dange's return, he reported first to Nehru, and then to the CPI Central Executive

Committee. The latter seemed to be responding to advice brought from abroad when on January 12 it adopted a resolution which, while continuing to support the bargaining position of the Indian government and to place the onus for agreement upon Peking, put greatly increased emphasis on the need for a peaceful settlement and on the "dangerous machinations of the Western powers."¹⁵

This shift in the emphasis of the CPI line was reiterated in resolutions adopted by the party's National Council in February. At the same time, the National Council finally put the CPI on public record with a formal, unequivocal denunciation of the Chinese party's position in the Sino-Soviet conflict.¹⁶ Finally, it was at this National Council meeting that Namboodiripad, already isolated within the leadership, resigned as CPI General Secretary and editor of New Age, leaving Dange's forces in sole control.

THAT MOSCOW has come to feel, however, that some of the CPI's right-faction leaders have carried a compliant attitude toward Nehru too far was demonstrated when the March 1963 issue of the Soviet-controlled international Communist journal, Problems of Peace and Socialism, published a review article by Namboodiripad (identified now as merely a "member of the CPI Central Secretariat"). In this article Namboodiripad--and presumably the CPSU--reiterated the basic Soviet thesis that the Indian bourgeoisie had "not exhausted its progressive role," but also emphasized the need to support the Nehru government only when it did well, criticizing it when it misbehaved. Namboodiripad chided "some comrades" for believing it possible simply to "walk in step with the government."

For Peking, of course, the matter is much more simple; and Jen-min jih-pao on March 9 made its position plain with an editorial denouncing the CPI leadership in the most violent terms to date, condemning Dange as a Titoite revisionist who was now beyond the Communist pale and as a traitor who had split the CPI by capitulating to Nehru and the Indian bourgeoisie.

Despite Moscow's apparent desire to restrain it, the right-wing faction now at last seems in firm possession of the machinery of the Communist Party of India throughout the country, while the leftist faction---its top leaders imprisoned---reportedly is vigorously contesting authority of the new leadership in certain areas. It remains to be seen whether the leftists will eventually go on to create and announce a second Communist Party in India, as has already happened in Brazil. At the moment (late March) both the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian conflicts are in a phase of relative quiescence; should either be reactivated, the development of a formal schism in the CPI may be expected to accelerate.

¹Chairman Dange thus became the second CPI leader to be so honored in a Jen-min jih-pao editorial, the first having been the late general secretary Ajoy Ghosh, on Dec. 7, 1961.

²This was spelled out still more forcefully by Chou Enlai in a speech on November 4, when he thanked the North Koreans for "upholding the stand of proletarian internationalism"; this he defined as "distinguishing right from wrong, upholding justice, denouncing the Indian aggression against China, supporting China's counterattacks in self-defense," and supporting China's proposals for a border settlement. (NCNA, November 4, 1962)

³Prague radio, October 25, 1962.

⁴Prague radio, November 8, 1962.

⁵Mario Alicata in Unità (Rome), November 11, 1962.

⁶New Age (New Delhi), November 11, 1962. In another article in the same issue, Dange himself wrote that the CPI would help defend the country because Communists are committed to defend "just wars." The usual Communist criterion for a "just war," of course, would require Dange to do exactly the opposite.

⁷Statesman (New Delhi), November 16, 1962.

⁸Jen-min jih-pao, March 9, 1963. The Chinese here went so far as to suggest that the Indian government acted "on a list of names previously furnished to it" by Dange.

⁹Link (New Delhi weekly), December 16, 1962.

¹⁰Ibid., December 23, 1962.

¹¹Ibid.; Swadhinata, December 12 and 27, 1962; Statesman, January 9, 1963.

¹²Jen-min jih-pao, March 9, 1963.

¹³Ibid., January 15, 1963.

¹⁴Thought (New Delhi weekly), December 29, 1962.

¹⁵New Age, January 20, 1963. The TASS account of the resolution leaned heavily on the latter aspect of the statement.

¹⁶New Age, February 17, 1963.